

SCOTLAND



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SCOTLAND

PICTURESQUE:
HISTORICAL: DESCRIPTIVE.



ENTRANCE TO ROSLIN CHAPEL.

From an Original Drawing by D. Roberts, R.A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

SCOTLAND:

PICTURESQUE; HISTORICAL; DESCRIPTIVE.

BEING A SERIES OF VIEWS OF

EDINBURGH AND ITS ENVIRONS;

THE

MOUNTAINS, GLENS, LOCHS, SEA-COASTS;

AND THE

PALACES, CASTLES, AND ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS OF SCOTLAND.

CONSISTING OF OVER

SEVENTY CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS,

FROM ORIGINAL AND COPYRIGHT DRAWINGS,

BY

SIR WILLIAM ALLAN, F.R.S.A.
CLARKSON STANFIELD, R.A.
GEORGE CATTERMOLE.
W. L. LEITCH.

THOMAS CRESWICK, A.R.A.
DAVID ROBERTS, R.A.
J. D. HARDING.
JOSEPH NASH.

HORATIO MACCULLOCH, R.S.A.
D. O. HILL, R.A.
W. SIMPSON, R.A.,
&c., &c.

ACCOMPANIED BY

Descriptive, Historical, Antiquarian, and Anecdotal Notices of the Principal Scenes and Events Illustrated.

By JOHN PARKER LAWSON, M.A.

LONDON:

JOHN G. MURDOCH, 41, CASTLE STREET, HOLBORN, E.C.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are few countries whose historical and other associations present greater interest than Scotland. Only three centuries ago it was, as a nation, almost in the same category as was England in the days of the Saxons. Rival chiefs or clans were constantly promoting civil war, or fighting among themselves. The reign of the unfortunate Queen Mary affords some of the most painful incidents that can be found in the history of any nation. In the course of events, however, at the commencement of the last century, the Union between England and Scotland was effected, and from that date the progress of North Britain in commerce, the arts and sciences, and manufactures has been unparalleled. Scotland, in fact, at the present day, by the enterprise, perseverance, and energy of her inhabitants, stands foremost in civilised life. Perhaps the truth is not exceeded if we remark, that there is not a spot where civilisation has taken root throughout the world, that a Scotchman may not be found exercising his peculiar *per-fervidum* in promoting general progress.

Until very recently the tourist knew little of the beauties of the country, and still less of its historical associations. To describe these and other objects of interest is the purpose of the following pages. Fifty years ago, a journey to Edinburgh was, in every respect, as serious an undertaking as one to Egypt is at the present day. But the extension of the railway system to the *Ultima Thule*, and the example set by her Majesty, have led tourists of all classes to acquaint themselves with the romantic scenery of Scotland, in place of a resort to Germany and Switzerland, as was formerly the case.

Scotland may be practically considered as consisting of three principal regions. In a line south of Edinburgh, drawn to Dumfries, and near Carlisle, the scenery partakes much of the character of the North of England. The Cheviot Hills introduce to the higher system of mountain ranges in the north. In this portion, agriculture, the rearing of sheep and cattle, are the chief occupation of the inhabitants. Within the central zone the leading historical incidents of Scotland have occurred, the capital, Edinburgh, having been their centre. This also includes Stirling, Glasgow, Falkirk, &c. ; and here coal, lead, and iron mining, textile and chemical manufactures, have attained the highest position. The Clyde and the Forth, connected by a canal, become the veins or arteries of immense commercial activity.

North of this the great mountain ranges commence, with the magnificent lochs of sea and fresh water, that indent the whole of the western portion of Scotland. In the Grampian range is Ben Nevis, having a height of 4,370 feet, and Ben Macdhuì, said to be 4,390 feet high. In some of these mountains there are ravines from 1,000 to 1,500 feet in perpendicular depth. Still further north is a range extending from the Atlantic to the German Ocean, one of the highest hills being Ben Wyvis, 3,720 feet. In the West Highlands, the scenery from the mouth of the Clyde is of the most romantic description, the Isle of Arran affording a kind of microcosm of their topography and geology. The inland lakes or lochs, such as Lomond, Katrine, Awe, Ness, Leven, &c., afford every variety of scenery, while those running in from the sea are scarcely inferior in beauty; as, for example, Lochs Fyne and Long. In these districts we need scarcely remind our readers that shooting and fishing are carried on, and afford some of the strongest inducements for the visit of the tourist. Deer-stalking is reserved for the more northerly districts, as Sutherlandshire and neighbouring counties.

Scotland is rich in its archæology. Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood Palace still remain as monuments of history. The same may be said of Stirling Castle, and the ruins of Linlithgow and other palaces. As regards cathedrals, those of Glasgow and Elgin are magnificent specimens of ecclesiastical architecture. Among abbeys, those of Melrose, Dryburgh, Kelso, and Roslin Chapel are too well known to require further than the mere mention. The style of these, and their ornamentation, present some curious features of study, in an ethnological point of view, when we contrast them with the character of the Celts, little emerged from a state of barbarism at the period of the erection of such buildings. It is singular, indeed, that the soft, flowing lines of Scott, and the tender, or at times forcible poetry of Burns, should have emanated from a people which even now retain, in some places, traces of the feudal system.

Such are some outlines of various interesting matters described in minute detail in this Work. With respect to the Illustrations, they afford lively pictures of what the intended tourist may expect to realise on visiting Scotland. On the other hand, those who are familiar with that country will be enabled to reproduce in the mind a constantly-recurring sense of pleasure.

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CHAPTER I.

EDINBURGH.

History of the Castle.

N whatever side the traveller approaches Edinburgh, he cannot fail to admire the mingled beauty and grandeur of a scene where Nature has bestowed every charm that can adorn a great city. Mountain and valley—woods, corn-fields, and meadows—a sea-view of surpassing beauty—and beyond, fading into the distance, the blue hills of Fifeshire and the Grampians—unite to form a scene which can nowhere be excelled. But amidst all this variety of landscape, one lofty and majestic object rises prominent in the view, and marks for miles around the position of the Scottish capital. This is the Castle; whose History, varied and troublous as the dark ages that have rolled over it, is now to engage the reader's attention. Nor is it without reason that the first place in the present work is assigned to this subject. The Castle of Edinburgh is associated with so many important events in Scottish history, that its annals take precedence almost by right; and it is invested with another and peculiar interest by the fact, that the City itself owes its origin to the fortified and almost impregnable precipices of the Castle rock, in those early days when men generally sought the protection of such places of strength, and erected their rude habitations in their immediate vicinity.

The Castle occupies the precipitous termination of the hill on which the old City is built, and the defences inclose altogether about seven English acres, having accommodation for upwards of two thousand men. The only access is by the Esplanade, a spacious inclosed area kept in proper order for the parade and drill of the garrison. None of the edifices and defences of the present Fortress are of very ancient date, the earlier buildings having been successively destroyed, once by King Robert Bruce himself, to prevent this stronghold from again falling into the hands of the English. When the Castle of Edinburgh, therefore, is mentioned in Scottish history before the reign of James V., it is not to be identified with the present Fortress, the dates on the oldest parts of which reach no farther back than 1566 and 1616. The Half-Moon Battery appears in the "Bird's Eye" view of the City by Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647, but is not in the curious sketch in a French work of the previous century.¹ The whole, with the exception of

¹ "Théâtre des Cités du Monde," published in 1575, the delineator of which, it is evident, never saw Edinburgh, and must have been guided solely by oral information. In the French description prefixed to the view of the City, it is narrated that the Castle, "called in Latin *Alata Castra*, the *Winged Castle*," was "founded by Cruthueus, King of Scots," and that the city was "first named Agneda." As no evidence, however, can be adduced to show that this worthy monarch ever existed, the information is not of much importance. We are further told, that "the Fortress is so strongly fortified by nature as to render

it impregnable, it being impossible to carry it by escalade. The rock is hard, and so precipitous that vultures there build their nests. These are occasionally *harried* by rash or foolhardy boys, who descend for that purpose from the rock on which the Fortress is seated." This assertion respecting the vultures and their nests is not more correct than the story of King Cruthueus; though it may be remarked, that till a comparatively recent period the rock was certainly inhabited by hawks of a large species, which may perhaps account for the mistake by the French author.

the south and east sides, has undergone a very considerable change since Slezer published his "*Theatrum Scotiæ*" in 1693, in which the drawings are very accurate.

But the rock was occupied as a fortress long before the authentic records of Scottish history. The real foundation of the stronghold may probably be ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons in the fourth or fifth century, and, as remarked above, it certainly originated the city built under its protection. Without referring to the story of Edwin—a reputed King of Northumberland, who is said to have possessed all the country from the present English Border to the Frith of Forth—the Gaelic name *Dun-Edin*, applied to Edinburgh, has a special reference to the Castle, and is by no means so modern as has been supposed, for it occurs in the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, under date A.D. 1107, in recording the demise of King Edgar. We know that Edinburgh is designated *Dun-Monaidh* in Gaelic tales, and the same occurs in the Gaelic translation of the "*Service of the Church of Scotland*" by the titular Bishop Carsewell of Argyll, preserved in the library of Inverary Castle. This term signifies the *Hill of the Moor*, and is remarkably appropriate when it is remembered that the ridge on which the Castle and old city are built was for many centuries environed by small lakes and marshes, and this is also the apparent origin of *L'Isleburg*, the French appellation of Edinburgh in Queen Mary's reign.

The ancient Fortress was known as the *Castrum Puellarum*.¹ Lord Hailes inquired whether it was actually so designated,² and the author of "*Caledonia*" replies—"Walter Hemingford would have answered the question in the affirmative, and the Chartulary of Newbattle would have shown him the way to the *Castrum Puellarum*."³ Various charters of David I.,⁴ Malcolm IV.,⁵ Alexander II., and Alexander III., are cited as granted at the *Castrum Puellarum*; and in some charters of Malcolm IV. to the monks of Cambuskenneth, the city is strangely designated *Oppidum Puellarum*. Alexander II. dated most of his charters from the Castle. Perhaps the boldest assertion respecting the antiquity of the Fortress was that of the worthy magistrates of Edinburgh, who, in their congratulatory address to James VI., when he visited his native city in 1617, scrupled not to allege that it was built by Fergusius, the founder of the kingdom, three hundred and fifty years before the Incarnation!

The Saxon Princess canonized as St. Margaret, Queen of Malcolm III., the son of the "gracious Duncan" said to have been murdered by Macbeth, died in the then Castle of Edinburgh in A.D. 1093, four days after her husband was killed at Alnwick Castle. It is not to be inferred, however, that the Queen died of grief for the loss of Malcolm,

¹ The describer of Edinburgh in the "*Théâtre des Cités du Monde*," could not resist inserting the ridiculous fable, that "this said Fortress bounding the west side of the City, is called the Castle of the Virgins, because there the daughters of the Kings of the Picts were kept strictly guarded, and where they learnt divers handiworks until they were fit for marriage." This is the alleged origin of the *Castrum Puellarum*, yet no writer ventures to state who the said Pictish princesses were, or the precise periods when those fabulous maidens inhabited the rock. It may be conceded that in the fifth century of the Christian era, which is the era of the Anglo-Saxon dominion south of the Frith of Forth, the rock on which the present Castle is built became a stronghold of the Chiefs of the Northumbrian dynasty; and from King Edwin, who lived in the seventh century, the name of *Edwin's Burgh*, applied to the city, was in all probability derived. Coeval with or preceding the time of Edwin, the name of the rock is supposed to have been *Mai-din* in ancient British, or *Magh-dun* in Gaelic, which may signify either the *Fortified Mound in the Plain*, or the *Good Fort*; and, as some fanciful etymologists concluded that *Mai-din* was the same as the English word *maiden*, from this arose the title, by which the Castle of Edinburgh is designated in old writings, of *Castrum Puellarum*, and the romantic fable that it was the residence of the unmarried Pictish princesses.

² Sir David Dalrymple, Baronet, the great restorer of Scottish history, and a distinguished Judge in the Court of Session from 1766 till his death in 1792, by the title of Lord Hailes, the designation by which he is generally known among the learned in Europe. In March 1773, his lordship inserted this laconic "Card" in the *Scots Magazine* (vol. xxxv. p. 120):—"Lord Hailes requests all gentlemen who have turned their thoughts to the antiquities of Scotland, to favour him with answers to the two following queries:—1. What evidence is there that *Castrum Puellarum* means Edinburgh? 2. What is the exact interpretation of *Castrum Puellarum* in the Gaelic and Saxon languages? The answers to these queries may be communicated in the *Scots Magazine*." This Card elicited two replies in that periodical. The first

appeared in the Number for April, merely as a suggestion, and we are told, on the authority of John of Wallingford (*apud Gale*, tom. i. p. 540), that "King Athelstan gave his sister Orgiva in marriage to Sietric, a Danish chieftain, and for her sake bestowed on him all the country between the Tees and Edinburgh, with the title of King. The same writer, a little after (p. 543), acquaints us, that when the English dominions were divided between the brothers Edwi and Edgar, this last had for his share Essex, Norfolk, the kingdoms of Mercia, Deira, and Bernicia, with Lothian, as far as *Castrum Puellarum*. Now, the same place which is called *Edinburgum* in the first of these passages, appears plainly to be called *Castrum Puellarum* in the last." The second reply, which is also an answer to the second query of Lord Hailes, was inserted in the Number for May; and the author contends, that though the ancient name of Edinburgh was *Castellum Puellarum*, or the *Maiden Castle*, yet it is probable that other fortified places were so designated, and he instances Roslin Castle, eight miles from Edinburgh, which, he says, is called the *Maiden Castle*. He further says that *Castellum Puellarum*, in the Gaelic tongue, may be rendered thus—"Caishtdeal na Maighdeanan, or *Dian na Carruigh na Hoighean*, that is, the *Castle of Maidens*, or the *Fort or Stronghold of the Virgins*. How the Saxons would have expressed *Castellum Puellarum*, I know not." The above is an amusing specimen of ingenious trifling.

³ Chalmers' *Caledonia*, 4to. vol. ii. p. 556.

⁴ A "Concordia," or Agreement, was effected between Robert Bishop of St. Andrews, and the Abbot of Dunfermline, *apud Castellum Puellarum* in presence of David I., Prince Henry his son, and their Barons, respecting the payment of tithes. This document is preserved in the Chartulary of Dunfermline.—Sir John Connell's *Treatise on the Law of Scotland respecting Tithes*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 1, 2.

⁵ In the reign of Malcolm IV., Geoffrey de Maleville, of Maleville Castle in the shire of Edinburgh, was *Vice-Comes de Castrum Puellarum*. The old house of Maleville Castle was on the site of the present Melville Castle, near Lasswade, the seat of Lord Viscount Melville.

of which it is traditionally related that she had a presentiment on the very day it occurred; for Turgot, her confessor, informs us that she was confined to her bed six months before that event, and that abstinence ruined her constitution, inducing excruciating pains, which death alone terminated. The demise of such a princess was too important to be allowed to pass without alleged miracles; and Fordun accordingly relates that Donald Bane, the brother of Malcolm, after he usurped the crown, besieged the Castle, in which the body of the Queen still lay—that her servants conveyed it out of the Fortress by a postern gate on the west, where the rock is less precipitous—and that, while so engaged, a miraculous mist concealed them from the besiegers. The object of Donald Bane on this occasion was to obtain possession of the person of Margaret's fourth son Edgar, the youthful heir to the crown, but the Prince escaped at the removal of his mother's remains.

The Canons of St. Augustine were first placed in the Castle, before David I., in 1128, founded the Abbey of Holyrood in honour of the Holy Cross—though this statement is at variance with the legend. The Fortress was at this period one of the usual royal residences. Among the earliest possessions bestowed by that monarch on his new monastery, were the church of the Castle and the church of St. Cuthbert under the Castle rock, with all their dependencies and pertinents, among which one is the piece of land recently given by the King, bounded by “the fountain which rises near the corner of the King's garden on the road leading to St. Cuthbert's Church.” The Canons evidently found the Fortress to have been an inconvenient residence, though sufficiently desirable as a place of security, and they removed with pleasure to their afterwards celebrated Monastery of Holyrood.¹

Few notices occur of the ancient Castle till 1174. The English then acquired it as part of the ransom of William the Lion, but it was restored when he married the Princess Ermengarde, cousin of Henry II. and grand-daughter of William the Conqueror. The condition of the then Fortress in the middle of the thirteenth century, when, in 1242, it was surprised by Alan Durward, Earl of March, and other leaders, may be inferred from the circumstance that Margaret, Queen of Alexander III., daughter of Henry III. of England, complained to the Scottish Estates that she was confined in the Castle, which she described as a “sad and solitary place, without verdure, and, by reason of its vicinity to the sea, unwholesome.” The Castle was strongly fortified by the English under Edward I., and continued in their possession till 1312–13, when it was taken by Randolph Earl of Moray, the nephew of King Robert Bruce. At that time the Governor was Sir Piers Leland, a Gascon knight, and Randolph had blockaded the Fortress so closely, that he had cut off all communication with the surrounding country. As Leland's fidelity was suspected, he was thrust into a dungeon, and another commander chosen. In this state of affairs a soldier named William Frank offered to point out to the Earl a part of the rock by which the defences could be scaled. He said that he had formerly resided in the Castle, and having a partiality for a young woman in the neighbourhood, he had been accustomed to get over the wall by a ladder of ropes, and by a steep and difficult path to arrive safely at the base of the rock. That track, notwithstanding its perilous precipices, had become familiar to him, and he still perfectly remembered its intricate approaches. Randolph received this information with joy, and selected thirty men for the enterprise. The soldier was their guide, and the first who mounted the ladder; Sir Andrew Gray followed, and the Earl himself was the third. Though it was midnight, an alarm was given before the whole party scaled the walls, the garrison ran to arms, and a desperate combat ensued; but their commander was slain, and they at length yielded. Leland was released from his dungeon, and entered the service of Robert Bruce, who afterwards ordered him to be hanged and quartered on a charge of treachery. This unfortunate soldier is designated *Viscount of Edinburgh* by his namesake Leland the antiquary.²

The Castle appears to have been destroyed by Robert Bruce, as already noticed, for prudential reasons, and was in ruins in 1335, when the battle was fought on the Borough Muir between the Scots and the Flemish auxiliaries, under Count Guy of Namur, in the service of the English.³ It was, soon after that affair, strongly rebuilt and

¹ *Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis: Monumenta Ecclesie Sancte Crucis de Edwinesburg*, presented by Lord Francis Egerton to the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1840, Preface, pp. 10, 11.

² Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 37, 38.

³ Count Guy of Namur was the second son of John de Dampierre, Count of Namur. On the above occasion the Scots were commanded by the Earls of Moray and March, and Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie. Count Guy landed at Berwick on the 30th of July, 1335, and, concluding that Edward III. had left no enemies in his rear, he advanced to Edinburgh, at that time an open town, and the Castle in a dismantled state. A desperate conflict ensued on the Borough Muir, in which the Scots obtained the victory by the opportune arrival of

William Douglas from the adjacent Pentland Hills with a reinforcement, which decided the day. Count Guy retreated into the city, maintaining a running fight, and took refuge among the ruins of the Castle. He ordered his horses to be killed, and formed a temporary rampart of their bodies, but thirst and hunger soon compelled him to capitulate. A curious circumstance is related regarding the battle on the Borough Muir. Richard Shaw, a Scottish esquire, was observed to be singled out by a combatant in the forces of Count Guy; they were both slain, and when the body of the stranger was stripped of its armour, it was discovered to be that of a woman.—Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 180, 181.

garrisoned by Edward III., to whom the rock had been ceded by Edward Baliol; and it continued in possession of the English till 1341, when it was again recovered by stratagem. On that occasion Richard Limosin was the commander, apparently acting as the deputy of Thomas Rokesby,¹ who, according to the Minutes of the thirteenth Parliament of Edward III., was Governor of the Castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. The plan of surprise was suggested by William Bullock, an ecclesiastic, who had formerly been in the confidence of Edward Baliol. It was arranged that a certain William Currie, the master of a small vessel belonging to Dundee, assisted by a person named Fairley, should bring his ship up the Forth as an English victualling sloop having on board provisions. Currie anchored near the island of Inchkeith, and sent a messenger on shore, who proceeded to the Castle, announcing his various pretended stores, and showing samples of wine, beer, and biscuits, with all of which the Governor expressed himself satisfied. The price having been arranged, it was stipulated that the provisions should be delivered early the next morning, to prevent any interception on the part of the Scots. In Currie's vessel were Douglas the celebrated Knight of Liddesdale,² Sir William Fraser, some other persons of note, and about two hundred resolute men. They landed near the present fishing-village of Newhaven, and, proceeding to the city, concealed themselves about the base of the rock during the night. Early in the morning the waggons appeared at the outer gate, attended by twelve armed men disguised as drivers of the supposed goods. The drawbridge was lowered without suspicion, when Currie and his attendants contrived to overturn the vehicles, which prevented the portcullis being raised, and, throwing off their assumed dress, they stabbed the warder and sentinels. The Knight of Liddesdale and his companions soon appeared, and entered the Fortress sword in hand. The cry of treason was raised, and a desperate conflict fought at the gate; but the gallantry of the assailants prevailed, and most of the garrison were put to the sword, except Limosin and his esquires, who contrived to escape. The command of the Fortress was given to William Douglas, an illegitimate brother of the Knight of Liddesdale.³

No accounts are preserved of the state of the fortifications at this period, nor is any description extant; yet it is not recorded that the Castle was subsequently dilapidated, though the English, immediately after the above exploit, were completely driven out of Scotland. David II. died in the Castle on the 23d of February, 1370-1, in the forty-seventh year of his age and forty-second of his reign. He was buried in the church of the Abbey of Holyrood before the great altar, and was succeeded by his nephew Robert, the High Steward of Scotland.⁴ The Fortress now became occasionally the residence, and not unfrequently the prison, of the Scottish Kings. The next event of any importance in its history occurred a century later, when Lord Chancellor Crichton,⁵ during the minority of James II., defended it successfully against the attempts of the powerful Douglas family, who, during that reign, were able to contend even with the royal authority. In 1438, when James II. was

¹ Rokesby was a prominent esquire at the battle of Halidon, near Berwick, in 1327.

² Sir William Douglas, the Knight of Liddesdale, is celebrated in Scottish history. He was an illegitimate son of Sir James Douglas, surnamed the "Good Sir James," the intimate companion of King Robert Bruce, with whose heart he was entrusted, to deposit it in the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem; but he was killed in his progress by the Saracens in Spain, and the heart of Bruce was brought back and interred in Melrose Abbey. The Knight of Liddesdale supported Bruce's son, King David II., and was prominent in many important transactions; but he sullied his fame by the cruel murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay of Dalhousie, whom he starved to death in a dungeon in his Castle of Hermitage, in Liddesdale, in 1342. The Knight was himself killed in 1353, while hunting in Etterick Forest, by order of Sir William Douglas, his father's nephew and his own godson.

³ The French story of this surprise of the Castle of Edinburgh is amusing.—"Douglas was very intimate with a rich man named Walter la Tour. The latter, by order of Douglas, went into the Forth with his bark, pretending to be a merchant, and to have brought wine from France. He, as had been concerted, brought some pieces, and, having filled a few flasks with it, goes the next day to the Castle, calls out the store-master, gives him the flasks that he might taste the wine; and he prizing it much, for they had been long without any, was asked if he chose to have some pieces of the same kind brought to the Castle. To which he replied, that it would be very agreeable if, in such a scarcity, that pleasure were done them; and, to remove doubt of payment, furnished ready money, and ordered the wine to be brought next day. This La Tour promised, and to bring at peep of dawn a waggon

with two large flasks. The gates were immediately opened to him; but, when the waggon was just in at the gate, the axle very luckily broke, and the waggon fell down. Douglas, having his men at no great distance, came up immediately with a small number, killed the sentries who resisted, and seized upon the Castle. King David was at that time returning from France with his consort Joanna."—According to the veracious French narrator, this occurred after "David Bruce of Scots, and Edward King of Britain, had laid waste a great part of England, and all Scotland; for the land not having been cultivated for several years, there arose such a famine in England and Scotland, that people ate horses, dogs, cats, and such-like animals, for want of other food. Nay, some say they were so pinched with famine, that neighbours stole and ate each other's children!"—*Théâtre des Cités du Monde*, 1575.

⁴ Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 265, 266.

⁵ William Crichton, created Lord Crichton in 1445, is conspicuous in Scottish history during the reigns of James I. and James II. He was knighted by James I. at his coronation, and at the accession of James II. he was appointed Lord Chancellor. He was dismissed from that office in 1444, but was re-appointed in 1447, and continued primo minister of Scotland till his death in 1454. Lord Crichton, who was the chief contriver of the murder of the Earl of Douglas and his brother, was the grandfather of William third Lord (who was forfeited in February, 1483-4, for joining the Duke of Albany against James III.), and ancestor of the Crichtons, Viscounts Frendraught, of whom Lewis, the fourth Viscount, was attainted in 1690 for opposing the Revolution.—*Crawford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown and of the State in Scotland*, folio, pp. 26-31.

little more than seven years of age, he was conveyed from the Castle to the Abbey of Holyrood, and crowned with great magnificence. During the two succeeding years he continued to reside in the Fortress in the charge, or rather custody, of Lord Chancellor Crichton, greatly to the annoyance of his mother, Queen Joanna,¹ by whom a scheme was devised for his liberation, which was completely successful. Pretending that she would leave Edinburgh on the following day to perform a pilgrimage to Whitekirk,² in accordance with a vow for her son's health, the Queen took leave of the Chancellor, recommending the young King to his care and fidelity, and retired for the night to her devotions. Next morning the King was craftily carried out of the Fortress concealed among his mother's clothes, and conveyed in a chest to Leith, whence he was transferred to Stirling, and placed under the care of Sir Archibald Livingstone, whom the Queen considered his legal guardian. Livingstone raised an army, and laid siege to Edinburgh Castle; but Chancellor Crichton delivered the keys into the King's own hands, agreed to join against Archibald fifth Earl of Douglas and second Duke of Touraine, and effected a reconciliation with Livingstone.

This Earl of Douglas died of fever, at Restalrig, near Edinburgh, in 1439, and was succeeded by his son William, the sixth Earl and third Duke. The power of the House of Douglas was at the time most formidable, and the Earl appeared in public with a retinue of followers more like an independent prince than a subject. Chancellor Crichton, irritated at this conduct, resolved to cut off the Earl and his brother David; who, with Sir Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld,³ a faithful adherent of the family, were accordingly inveigled into Edinburgh Castle by promises and flattery, and after a treacherous entertainment, which was succeeded by a pretended trial of short duration, were beheaded within the Fortress on the 24th of November, 1440.⁴

James II. was then in his tenth year, and was literally the prisoner of the Chancellor Crichton and Sir Alexander Livingstone.⁵ In 1444, the former shut himself up in the Castle, of which he had been appointed Governor in the previous reign; and the eighth Earl of Douglas having now gained the ascendancy, Crichton, who had been deprived of the Chancellorship, resolved to defend himself to the utmost against his enemies. In 1445, he was proclaimed a rebel in a Parliament assembled by Douglas; his castle of Crichton, five miles from Dalkeith, was taken and dismantled, and his estates forfeited; in retaliation for which he made occasional sallies from the Castle, and ravaged the lands belonging to Douglas. In this year James II. was induced to besiege the Fortress, but it was bravely defended by Crichton, who the following year surrendered on advantageous terms to himself—the restoration to his estates, honours, and even to the office of Chancellor.

In 1479, James III., suspecting the fidelity of his brothers, the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, sent the former a prisoner to the Castle, and the latter to Craigmillar, a baronial fortalice three miles south-east of Edinburgh, on the road to Dalkeith. Albany knew the despotic temper of the King, and, not willing to trust his dubious fraternal affection, contrived to escape, after a confinement of some duration, at the very time when the King was lodging in the Fortress. A French vessel, either by chance or design, arrived in the Forth, and anchored off Newhaven; the captain gave out that his cargo consisted of excellent wines, and sent to the Castle, requesting the Duke of Albany to honour him by the first choice. Two casks of malmsey were ordered, in one of which was concealed a roll of wax, enclosing a paper containing directions, while a long rope was put into the other. The Duke's domestic servant was entrusted with the secret, and acted most faithfully towards his master. On a certain evening the Governor of the Castle, having waited on the King, and ordered the gates to be shut and the watch set as usual, repaired to Albany's apartment to enjoy a collation and the malmsey. The Duke was on his guard, but plied the Governor so amply with wine, that he and three of the garrison, appointed to attend the prisoner, were soon intoxicated, and were overcome by sleep, if not by death, for some accounts state that they were poisoned. Albany and his domestic retired to a part of the battlements concealed from the sentinel, fixed the rope, and the

¹ Daughter of the Duchess of Clarence, niece of Richard II., by her first husband John Duke of Somerset, the grandson of Edward III.

² The church of Whitekirk, in Haddingtonshire, belonged to the Canons of Holyrood, and was long a resort of those who confided in the efficacy of pilgrimages.

³ Sir Malcolm Fleming of Biggar and Cumbernauld was the father of Sir Robert Fleming, created Lord Fleming, probably by James II., though the date is not known. His lineal descendant, John sixth Lord Fleming, was created Earl of Wigton in 1606.

⁴ The fate of the Earl of Douglas, then only in his seventeenth year, is thus lamented in the fragment preserved by Home of Godscroft

in his History of the Houses of Douglas and Angus, folio, Edin. 1664, p. 155—

“Edinburgh Castle, towne, and towre,
God grant them sink for sinne;
And that even for the black dinner
Earle Douglas gat therein.”

⁵ Sir Alexander Livingstone was the eldest son of Sir John Livingstone of Calendar, killed at the battle of Homildon in September 1402. He was denounced as a rebel in 1445, and imprisoned in 1446, but obtained his release by paying a sum of money, though this did not save one of his sons, who was tried and beheaded. Sir James, his eldest son, was created Lord Livingstone in 1458, and from him descended the Earls of Linlithgow and Calendar.

servant went first down to explore the dangerous precipice. The rope, however, was too short, and the man fell to the base and broke his thigh. Albany secured himself against similar danger by increasing the length with his bedclothes, and safely descended. He first carried his servant on his back to a place of safety, and then proceeded across the fields on which the New Town is now built to Newhaven, where he made an appointed signal, and was received on board the vessel, which immediately set sail. The King was so much surprised at his brother's escape, that he would not believe it till he had examined his apartment, caused the Castle to be searched, and seen the spot and instrument of his flight. A different fate awaited the young Earl of Mar, who was brought from Craigmillar to Edinburgh, and put to death by the opening of his veins, on the charge of conspiring against the King's life by magical practices, for which also several others were condemned and executed.¹

After the famous Raid of Lauder² in 1482, when the nobility opposed James III., and executed his favourites, the King was brought back from that town to the Castle of Edinburgh, where he was kept as a kind of state prisoner. He was treated with respect, however, and the royal authority was carefully maintained; but he was vigilantly attended by some of the Peers, to observe his conduct and prevent his escape, till he should give sufficient security not to revenge the death of his favourites, to which he evinced obstinate repugnance. It is curious to know that James III. was delivered from his durance in the Castle after the Raid of Lauder by his brother, the Duke of Albany, at whose escape from the Fortress, as already related, he was so much irritated. This appears to have been effected about the end of September 1482, and Albany, who had returned from France and England, having obtained a pardon from the King, was received into such apparent favour that the royal brothers are said to have shared for some time one bed and the same table.³

James III. was assassinated at Sauchie, near the memorable field of Bannockburn, while flying from his insurgent nobility, in 1488, and was succeeded by his son James IV. The young King took possession of the Castle, which his father had garrisoned, and appears to have often resided in the Fortress. In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer is an entry dated July 10, 1488, recording a payment to English "pyparis that came to the Castle gate, and playit to the King."⁴ In 1495, Kenneth Oig Mackenzie of Kintail, and Farquhar Macintosh, son and heir of the

¹ Another account of Mar's death, more favourable to James, is given by Drummond of Hawthornden, and is quoted in Tytler's History (vol. iv. p. 260) as the more probable version of the story. But the matter is very doubtful, and the relation in the text is supported by Lesley and Buchanan.

² The *Raid of Lauder* was one of the most daring acts of opposition to the sovereign by the nobility recorded in Scottish history. James III. thought proper to associate with persons of mean origin, whom he made his favourite companions. Among them were Cochrane an architect, Rogers a musician, Leonard a smith, Hommel a tailor, and Torphichen a fencing-master. The nobility were greatly enraged at the preferment of such persons, more especially when in 1482 the King conferred on Cochrane the dignity, or at least the revenues, of the Earldom of Mar, which had been previously held by his own brother. Cochrane had further incurred the popular hatred by debasing the current silver with a kind of alloy which rendered it *black money*—a fraud which accelerated his ruin and that of his master. It is traditionally said of this favourite, that when informed that the merchants and farmers rather allowed the grain to rot than receive the price of it in such dubious metal, and that his coin would be recalled, he answered, as if such were an utter impossibility—"Not until the day I shall be hanged!"—an apparent prophecy, which the people afterwards repeated with exultation. In 1482, the English army under the Duke of Gloucester advanced to Berwick, and James III. collected his forces to oppose the invaders. An army of 50,000 men assembled under the royal banner at the Borough Muir, whence they marched to Soutra, crossed the Soutra Hills, and encamped at the royal burgh of Lauder in Berwickshire, twenty-five miles from Edinburgh. The King had already returned an unsatisfactory answer to one of many remonstrances addressed to him to dismiss his pernicious favourites, and restore the confidence placed by his ancestors in the nobility; and the Peers only awaited some favourable opportunity to revenge themselves both on him and on his associates. This they now found. Cochrane had imprudently followed the King with the army to Lauder, as commander of the rude artillery then in use, and his presence and pomp were considered additional insults. Tho

other favourites were also with the army. On the morning after their encampment at Lauder, the Peers held a secret council in the Church, and in the course of the debate Lord Grey introduced this fable:—"The mice," he said, "consulted as to the mode of deliverance from their common enemy the cat, and agreed that a bell should be suspended from the neck of their foe, to notify its approach and their danger; but what mouse would have the courage to fasten the bell?" "I shall bell the cat!" exclaimed Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, commonly called the *Great Earl*, and this saying procured for him the sobriquet of *Bell-the-Cat*. It was resolved that the King should be placed under restraint in the Castle of Edinburgh, and all his favourites hanged over the bridge of Lauder. Cochrane, ignorant of their designs, left the royal presence, splendidly attired and attended by three hundred men, to attend the council. He commanded a retainer to knock at the door of the church, and when Sir Robert Douglass of Lochleven, who guarded the passage, inquired his name, he replied—"Tis I, the Earl of Mar." He was then admitted, and the Earl of Angus advancing to him, pulled a gold chain from his neck, exclaiming—"A rope will become thee better!" while Douglas of Lochleven seized his hunting-horn, observing that he had been too long a hunter of mischief. More astonished than alarmed, Cochrane asked—"My Lords, is it jest or earnest?" He was answered—"It is good earnest, and so shalt thou find it, for thou and thy accomplices have too long abused our Prince's favour; but no longer expect such advantage, for thou and thy followers shall now reap the deserved reward." They sent a few of their number to amuse the King, and immediately hanged Cochrane and the other favourites, including a gentleman named Preston, over the bridge of Lauder, sparing only John Ramsay of Balmain, a youth who firmly clasped the King's person. The bridge at Lauder over the Leader occupied the site of the present one, and the house in which James III. was placed under restraint after this bold deed was standing in 1819. The church in which the conference was held, was removed when John Duke of Lauderdale made the additions to Thirlstane Castle.

³ Pinkerton's History of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 312.

⁴ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 115.

captain or chief of the Clan Chattan, were imprisoned by the King in the Castle; and this durance was probably the punishment of their turbulent conduct in 1491, and a dread of their influence among the Islanders. They contrived to escape in 1497, but they were treacherously assailed at the Torwood in Stirlingshire, by Buchanan of that Ilk, on their way to the Highlands. Mackenzie, who offered resistance, was killed, and his head was presented by Buchanan to James IV. Macintosh was taken alive, brought back and consigned to his former dungeon in the Castle, in which he was detained till after the battle of Flodden.¹ In 1506, Donald Dubh, or the Black, the alleged heir of the Isles, who had been proclaimed Lord of the Isles by Macleod of Lewis and other powerful chiefs, in 1504, was taken prisoner a second time, and was committed to the Castle of Edinburgh, in which he was so vigilantly watched that he remained in the Fortress nearly forty years, until he effected his escape under the Regency of the Earl of Arran, afterwards Duke of Chatelherault.² In 1503, when James IV. married the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England, he met his Queen at Dalkeith, on her journey from Berwick; and some days afterwards she made her public entry into Edinburgh, when the Castle was the scene of splendour and profusion. The Abbey of Holyrood, however, was evidently the principal residence of the King after his marriage, as we find payments in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts to "carteris and pynours for carrying of bed-clathes and hingsings fra the Castell to the Abbay and other places."³ The King often rode from the Castle to witness the progress of an enormous ship, called the Great Michael, which he was building at Newhaven, near Leith, and for which he exhausted all the oaks in Fife, except those at Falkland Palace. The defeat at Flodden ended the career of James IV., and spread dismay throughout Scotland, which prevailed many years.

After the battle of Flodden, in 1513, at which most of the Scottish nobility fell with James IV., the few survivors of the Scottish Privy Council met at Perth. It was agreed that the widowed Queen Margaret, in accordance with her husband's will, should conduct the government until a regency should be appointed. The Duke of Albany, the son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, brother of James III., and the next heir to the monarchy, failing the young King, was invited from France to assume the Regency. In April 1514, Queen Margaret was delivered of a posthumous son, who was named Alexander, and created Duke of Ross, but he survived only till his second year. In the Parliament which met in July 1514, a temporary Regency was devolved, with Albany's consent, during his absence, on the Queen, James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, and the Earls of Huntly,⁴ Angus,⁵ and Arran.⁶ The young King and his infant brother were assigned to the guardianship of the Earl Marischal, and Lords Fleming and Borthwick, and the Earl of Arran was appointed Captain of Edinburgh Castle. Albany landed at Dunbarton on the 18th of May, 1515, and on the 26th he entered Edinburgh, when he was received at the gate of the Abbey of Holyrood by the Queen-Mother with the utmost professions of kindness. He was inaugurated on the 12th of July with royal pomp, and proclaimed Governor and Protector of Scotland till the King should attain the eighteenth year of his age.

Lord Home⁷ joined the party of Queen Margaret, who had married the Earl of Angus, and zealously supported the English interest against Albany, for which the Queen and Angus, among other advantages, agreed to pay him

¹ Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 8vo. pp. 91, 93. This exploit of the Laird of Buchanan was signally avenged in 1513. Kenneth Oig Mackenzie of Kintail had a foster-brother named Donald Dubh Macgillecrisic vic Gillereoch, of the district of Kinlochawe in Ross-shire, who, with the rest of his clan, was at Flodden with his young chief, John Mackenzie of Kintail, who was taken prisoner. During the retreat of the Scottish army from the field of battle, this Donald Dubh, or *Black Donald*, overheard a person near him say,—"Alas, laird, thou hast fallen!" He inquired who this was, and was told that the Laird of Buchanan had sunk from wounds or exhaustion. The Highlander, eager to revenge the death of his chief and foster-brother, drew his sword, exclaiming—"If he hath not fallen, he shall fall!" and, running to Buchanan, killed him on the spot.

² Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands, pp. 102, 103.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 119.

⁴ Alexander third Earl of Huntly, eldest son of George second Earl by his first countess, the Princess Annabella, daughter of James I. He commanded the left wing of the Scottish army at Flodden along with Lord Home, and was one of the few who escaped from that disastrous carnage.

⁵ Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, grandson and successor of Earl Archibald styled *Bell-the-Cat*. He married Queen Margaret in 1514, and the issue was Lady Margaret Douglas, who became the countess of Matthew fourth Earl of Lennox, and mother of the unfortunate Lord Darnley. The Earl of Angus was divorced by Queen Margaret in 1526.

⁶ James second Lord Hamilton, created Earl of Arran by James IV. after his marriage to the Princess Margaret, was the only son of Sir James Hamilton of Cadzow, created Lord Hamilton by royal charter in 1445, and his second wife, the Princess Mary, daughter of James II., and widow of Thomas Boyd, Earl of Arran. He was in France when the battle of Flodden was fought, and when he returned to Scotland many anxiously wished that he should be appointed Regent, from his near relationship to the young King and his sufficiency for such a charge; but he yielded his pretensions to Albany.

⁷ Alexander third Lord Home, eldest son of Alexander second Lord, by Nicolas, a daughter of George Ker of Samuelton. He possessed great influence in the south of Scotland, especially in Berwickshire. Lord Home led the van at the battle of Flodden, and dispersed that division of the English army opposed to him.

the sum of 3000 merks. In 1515, an amnesty was offered by Albany, through the French ambassador, to Lord Home, and a pardon sent to him, with the request of a conference to be held at Dunglass Castle, on the confines of Berwickshire and Haddingtonshire. Home agreed to meet the Regent at Dunglass, where he was immediately arrested, and committed a prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. He did not, however, long remain in the Fortress, for he induced the Earl of Arran to allow him to escape, and even to accompany him to the Borders.¹

Albany had scarcely assumed the Regency when he acted in the most tyrannical manner. He committed John first Lord Drummond, the maternal grandfather of the Earl of Angus, and Constable of Stirling Castle, a close prisoner to the Castle of Blackness.² The celebrated Gavin Douglas,³ the second brother of Angus, was sent by Albany to durance in the Sea-Tower at St. Andrews,⁴ under the pretence that he was soliciting the bishopric of Dunkeld from the Pope, through the influence of the Queen and her brother Henry VIII. Margaret was then residing in Edinburgh Castle, with the royal infants, the Fortress having been a part of her enfeoffment,⁵ and proceeding to the Abbey of Holyrood, she presented herself before Albany "sore weeping" in behalf of her husband's relatives. Her tears and entreaties were of no avail, and she returned to the Castle dejected and dispirited. It was even resolved by the Regent Albany to deprive her of the royal children. Four Peers were deputed by the Parliament to demand the royal infants; and they proceeded to the Castle, at the gate of which they were met by the Queen, with the young King in her hand, his brother carried behind in the arms of a nurse, and around stood the Earl of Angus and a few attendants. A great concourse of persons resorted to witness this interview. After the acclamations with which the Queen was received had subsided, Margaret exclaimed aloud—"Stand! Declare the cause of your coming." The Peers answered that they were sent by the Parliament to demand the young King and his brother. They were, however, astonished when they heard her cry out—"Drop the portcullis!" The massive iron was instantly let down between the Queen and the delegates, whom she now addressed—"This Castle is part of my enfeoffment, and I was made sole Governor of it by my late husband, the King, nor to any mortal shall I yield the important command. But I respect the Parliament and nation, and request six days to consider their mandate; for of infinite consequence is my charge, and my counsellors, alas! are now few." She then withdrew, and the delegates also retired; but on the fifth day she departed with her children to Stirling, her usual residence, the inhabitants of which were zealous in her behalf.

The Regent, attended by most of the nobility, marched to Stirling with seven thousand men, and easily obtained possession of that Fortress. The Queen requested the Regent's favour for her children, herself, and her husband Angus; and he replied, that as respected herself and the royal infants every indulgence would be granted, but none could be extended towards Angus and his family, because they were traitors. The Queen was compelled to return to Edinburgh Castle without the young King and his brother. She continued in the Fortress about four weeks, and as she was strictly watched by spies, her residence had some appearance of imprisonment. The Queen was then far advanced in pregnancy, and, impatient at the restraint imposed on her, she wrote to Lord Dacre, the Warden of the West Marches, under her brother Henry VIII., informing him that she was kept in a kind of captivity in her Castle of Edinburgh, while her friends were in prison, and her revenues retained—that she was consequently suffering extreme poverty, and was determined to escape from persecution—and that she wished to flee to Blackadder Castle, near the Borders, which he had recommended as a sure refuge, from its proximity to England, while she could not be said to have abdicated her rights by leaving Scotland. She also sent a ring to Henry VIII., as a pledge of her

¹ Lord Home made his peace with the Regent Albany in 1516, and was restored to his honours and estates, but this was of little avail to avert his fate. When on a visit to Albany in September that year with his fifth brother William, he was arrested, tried and convicted on a charge of high treason, beheaded on the 8th of October, his head placed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and his honours and estates forfeited to the crown. His brother was tried at the same time, found guilty, executed on the following day, and his head was also spiked on the Tolbooth.

² Blackness Castle, in the parish of Carriden, on the south shore of the Frith of Forth, three miles east of Borrowstonness, six miles west of South Queensferry, and six miles north-east of Linlithgow, was kept up as a place of strength during the reigns of the early Scottish monarchs, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was used as a state prison.

³ His translation of Virgil's *Æneid*, and his own poems, are well known. He was Provost of St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh, and rector of Heriot in that county, in 1509, and he was nominated Archbishop of St. Andrews in 1514, but the consecration did not take place, and he became Bishop of Dunkeld in 1516. He is prominently noticed in the history of St. Giles's Church in the present work.

⁴ The Sea-Tower of St. Andrews was a most repulsive dungeon within the precincts of the Castle or Archiepiscopal Palace of St. Andrews, overlooking the German Ocean and the Frith of Tay. Some remains of it still exist, which are detached from the ruins of the subsequent castle.

⁵ In 1445, reign of James II., an Act was passed by the Parliament held at Edinburgh, enumerating the "Lordschippis and Castellis annext to the Crown," and among them—"Item, the Castell of Edinburgh."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 42.

unalterable determination.¹ This scheme succeeded, and in the beginning of September we find the Queen at Blackadder, where she remained a month before she retired into England.

In 1517 and 1518, the young King James V., unconscious of the political agitations then raging between his mother on the one side and the Regent Albany on the other, was quietly pursuing his elementary education in Edinburgh Castle, to which he had been conveyed for safety.² He was placed under the charge of Gavin Dunbar, Prior of Whithorn, afterwards Archbishop of Glasgow and Lord Chancellor. From the entries of payments in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, the apartments appropriated to the youthful sovereign seem to have been in a very indifferent condition. Though afterwards reimbursed, Dunbar, his preceptor, was obliged to repair at his own cost, in the first instance, the chamber in which the King acquired his lessons, one particular room having been assigned for that purpose.³ In reality, during the whole of Albany's regency, the wants of the young monarch and his personal comforts were so much neglected, that it was often with difficulty he could procure a new doublet or new pair of hose; and at one time he must have wanted them, if they had not been supplied by his illegitimate sister, the Countess of Morton,⁴ who occasionally sent articles of wearing apparel to the Castle for his use. The Lord Treasurer,⁵ moreover, frequently refused to pay the tailor for making his clothes, even when the cloth itself happened to be given as a present.⁶ Though he lived in the Castle for security, the King was allowed to go abroad occasionally, when the city and neighbourhood were considered sufficiently quiet, and a mule was kept for him, on which he rode out during the intervals of study, for amusement and recreation.

The fear of an epidemic fever, designated "the pest," in Edinburgh, in 1517, induced the custodiers of James V. to remove him from Edinburgh Castle to that of Craigmillar, in the neighbourhood,⁷ during his residence at which his mother returned to Scotland. In 1519, another epidemic threatened to appear in Edinburgh, and the King was removed to Dalkeith, six miles south of the city. He was, however, speedily brought back to the Castle, and was attended by the Earls of Angus, Erroll,⁸ and Crawford,⁹ Lord Glammiss,¹⁰ Archbishop Forman of St. Andrews,¹¹ the

¹ The Queen, to avoid suspicion or obstruction in her intended flight, informed Lord Dacre that when she left Edinburgh Castle she would retire first to Linlithgow, the Palace at which was included in her dower, and that she would leave thence with her husband Angus, and a few domestics not in the secret, on the first or second night. She was to be met some miles from Linlithgow by forty strongly mounted troopers, who were to escort her to Blackadder.

² "April 23 (1517).—*Item*, to xiiij pynouris, quhillk drew the artalere in the Castell at the Kingis cumin to this toun, iij s. viij d."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 265.

³ "Feb. 16 (1516-7).—*Item*, gevin to Maister Gawin Dunbar, the Kingis Maister, to by necessar things for the Kingis chamer, ix li.—Aug. 28. *Item*, to Maister Gawin Dunbar, the Kingis maister, for expensis maid be him in reparaling of the chamer in the quhillk the King leris (learns) now in the Castell, iij. li." This refers to the school-room.—Selections from the Lord Treasurer's Accounts in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 265, 266.

⁴ Catherine, daughter of James IV. by Mary Boyd, married to James third Earl of Morton.

⁵ John Campbell of Lundie was Lord Treasurer from 1517 to 1520, when he was succeeded by Sir Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, who held the office till 1528.

⁶ The furnishing of materials for the King's clothes, and *employing a tailor to make them*, often occurred. In the Lord Treasurer's Accounts are the following entries in 1517-18:—

"June 15. *Item*, bocht to Colene Campbell, the Kingis servitour, at the Quenis cumin to Edr. vi elne of grene Birgem settene, price of ye elne xiiij s. *summa*, iij li. xvij s.

"*Item*, for iij quarteris and 1 half of blak vellous to begary ye said collere cott, price xl s. viij d.

"*Item*, for half an elne of fustean to lyne the body of his cott, xij d.

"*Item*, for iij elne of black gray to ye samyn, price v s. iij d.

"*Item*, for making the coit, iij s.

"Jan. 19.—*Item*, *de mandato Dominorum*, gevin to the Inglese man that presentit the clayth of gold come out of England to the Kingis grace in the Castell, x light crouns, vij li."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 266.

⁷ The fact is proved by the Lord Treasurer's Accounts: "Aug. 28 (1517).—*Item*, for ij gret lokkis and keyis, with slottis and stapillis, for the Kingis chamer, he remanand in Craigmillar, xij s. *Item*, to Robene Purvese for schoyne (shoes), howsis (stable), breddill (bridle), and helteris (halters), bocht for the Kingis mule, xx s. vj d. *Item*, for twa small stok-lokkis in *Craigmillare*, v s ij d. *Item*, for ij gret lokkis bocht for ij zettis (gates) in *Cragmyllare*, be command of Mons^r Labasty, *quhen the King was thair*, xij s." The cause of this removal is recorded by Bishop Lesly, who also intimates the Queen-Mother's arrival in Scotland—"The Quene being in Ingland, hearing of the departing of the Governour (Albany) furth of Scotland, returnit to Edinburghe the xvij day of Junij, with ane quiet trayne; bot was nocht admittit to vissit the King in the Castell, quhill (until) in August thaireftir; *because thir was sum feir of the pest in the Castell*, the King was transportit to *Cragmillar*, quhair the Quene vissiet him oftymes. But thair-thruich rais ane grait suspicion that he suld have bene stollin away be her into Ingland, and thairfor he wes brocht againe to the Castell of Edinbruch, and was keipit thairto the returning of the Duk" (of Albany).—BANNATYNE CLUB Edition, p. 109. Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 266, 267.

⁸ William Hay fifth Earl of Erroll, son of William fourth Earl, who fell at Flodden, and his Countess Elizabeth, daughter of William first Lord Ruthven.

⁹ David Lindsay seventh Earl of Crawford, son of Alexander sixth Earl by his Countess Margaret, a daughter of Campbell of Ardkinglas.

¹⁰ John Lyon sixth Lord Glammiss, son of John fourth Lord by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Andrew third Lord Gray. He succeeded his brother, George fifth Lord, who died in his minority in 1505. Lord Glammiss married Janet, second daughter of George Douglas, Master of Angus, and sister of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus. The extraordinary proceedings against this lady, and her melancholy fate, are related in a subsequent part of this narrative.

¹¹ Andrew Forman, who had been Archbishop of Bourges in France, and was translated from the Bishopric of Moray to the Primacy of St. Andrews in 1514. He was the immediate predecessor of Archbishop James Beaton.

Bishops of Aberdeen, Dunkeld, Dunblane and Orkney,¹ and many abbots and dignitaries of high rank. As the Earls of Angus and Arran were now at the head of two distinct factions having a deadly feud with each other, which broke forth the following year in the extraordinary riot in the High Street of Edinburgh known as *Cleanse the Causeway*, subsequently related, the gates of the Castle were shut against the party of the Earl of Angus by the noblemen to whose care the King had been committed. On the 3d of December, 1521, the Regent Albany visited the King in the Castle, where he received the keys from the Captain, gave them to Queen Margaret, and received them from her hands as a sign that he ought to have the guardianship of the young monarch.

In the Parliament held at Edinburgh in July 1522, it was concluded, by the desire of the Queen and the Regent, that James V., then in his eleventh year, should be removed from Edinburgh Castle to Stirling, and placed under the sole care of John fourth Lord Erskine.² In 1524, James V. assumed the government, when only about fourteen years of age. Accompanied by the Queen, he proceeded from Stirling to the Abbey of Holyrood, which he entered amid loud acclamations, and then took possession of the Castle, which was probably entrusted to a new governor.³

On the 14th of November, 1524, a Parliament was held in Edinburgh; and early in the morning of the 23d of that month, the Earls of Angus and Lennox,⁴ the Master of Glencairn,⁵ Scott of Buccleuch,⁶ who had been recently liberated from prison, and other leaders, suddenly advanced to Edinburgh. They scaled the city walls, opened the gates, admitted the whole of their followers, consisting of nearly four hundred men, and, proceeding to the Cross, they proclaimed that they appeared as good subjects. Angus and his friends appeared before the Privy Council, and insisted that sundry noblemen and bishops should take the guardianship of the young King. As soon as the arrival of this armed body of retainers was known in the Castle, a furious discharge of artillery was poured into the city. The Bishop of Aberdeen and the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, accompanied by Magnus, the English ambassador, went in haste to the Abbey of Holyrood, to entreat the Queen-Mother instantly to stop the fire of the Fortress. They found several of the nobility already assembled in the Abbey, with four or five hundred followers, prepared to attack Angus. Margaret admitted the bishop and the abbot, commanding the ambassador to retire, and he did so amid considerable danger, after one ball had killed a priest, two tradesmen, and a woman.⁷ Another *Cleanse the Causeway* might have been the result, which was prevented by Angus leaving Edinburgh for Dalkeith with his party in the afternoon, and his countess, the Queen-Mother, proceeded by torch-light from the Abbey to the Castle. It was intended to serve Angus, Lennox, and the other leaders, with a summons of treason for this exploit; but an act of exoneration was passed by the Parliament on the 22d of February following, when Angus and Lennox had so far made their peace with their opponents that they were chosen two of the Lords of the Articles.

Queen Margaret retained the young King in the Castle without any personal restraint. Archbishop James Beaton, then lord chancellor, and Angus, nevertheless alleged that she kept her son in a kind of captivity, and demanded that he should be ruled by a council appointed by the three estates. The citizens of Edinburgh were favourable to the Archbishop's party; and they were only restrained by the threatening aspect of the garrison in the

¹ The Bishops mentioned were Gavin Dunbar, Bishop of Aberdeen (uncle of Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow), son of Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock by Jane eldest daughter of John seventh Earl of Sutherland; Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld; and James Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, eldest son of Chisholm of Cromlix near Dunblane. The name of the Bishop of Orkney is uncertain.

² Properly fourth Earl of Mar of the surname of Erskine, son of Robert third Lord Erskine, who fell at Flodden, and his wife Isabel, a daughter of Campbell of Loudoun, ancestor of the Earls of Loudoun.

³ The Queen-Mother left Stirling for Edinburgh, with her son the young king, on the 26th of July. Nearly three months before this, James Crichton of Cranstoun-Riddell was Captain of the Castle. In the Lord Treasurer's Account is the following payment:—"April 17, 1524. Item, to James Crechtounne of Cranstoun-Riddale, *Capitane of the Castell of Edr*, for expensis maid be him upoun the sustentatioun of Donald of the Ilis, Patrik Wilsounne, Cammouse, Frenchman, and diverse utheris being in ward, &c., xliij li. xv s."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 270.

⁴ John third Earl of Lennox, son of Matthew second Earl and his Countess Elizabeth, daughter of James Lord Hamilton. He was the father of Matthew fourth Earl, and grandfather of Lord Darnley.

⁵ William Cunningham, afterwards fourth Earl of Glencairn, son of Cuthbert third Earl and his Countess Marjory, daughter of Archibald fifth Earl of Angus.

⁶ Sir Walter Scott of Branxholm and Buccleuch, afterwards mentioned, an ancestor of the Earls and Dukes of Buccleuch.

⁷ This invasion of the city, and the injury inflicted by the artillery of the Castle, evidently elicited the following Act, which was passed by the Parliament on the 22d of February, 1524-5:—"It is statutit and ordainit, that forasmekle as the Lordis of Counsall, and utheris our Soverane Lordis leigis reastand and repairand to the toun of Edinburgh, may be invadit, persewit, or troublit be evill avisit persounes being in the Castell of Edinburgh be schot of gunnis; that thairfor the Capitane of the said Castell suffir na gunnis to be schot furth of the samyn, to the hurt, damage, or skaith of ony of our Souerane Lordis leigis: nor that he suffir nane of the artillery, gunnis, pulderis, bullettis, or uthir municiouns, now being in the Castell forsaid, to be remufit furth of the samyn to ony uthir place, without the avise and command of the Lordis chosin of Counsall, under the pane of treasoun; and that na gunneris pass to the Castell of Edinburgh without command and charge of the said Lordis, undir the pane of deid."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 290.

Castle. Among the various notices of the Fortress in subsequent years, we find James V. advancing in person to besiege it in March 1527-8, at which time his mother the Queen, and her new husband Henry Stewart, Lord Methven, second son of Andrew Lord Avondale, had taken refuge within its battlements to secure themselves from Angus, whom she had divorced. The Queen instantly surrendered the keys, and entreated pardon for her husband and his brother, who was with them, on her knees. James, however, was advised to inflict some punishment, and, with the exception of the Queen, they were imprisoned for a short time.

The Castle was often appointed to be the place of confinement of the hostages required for the peaceable behaviour of the turbulent Highland and Hebridean chiefs. In 1530, James V., when he granted a protection to nine of the principal islanders sent by Hector Maclean of Duart, against the Earl of Argyll, agreed, as additional security, to take two of the following hostages from the Earl,—Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, Archibald Campbell of Auchinbreck, Archibald Campbell of Skipness, and Duncan Campbell of Ilangerig. The two were to enter into "ward" in the Castle, and strong measures were to be adopted against the refractory chiefs. In 1531, or 1532, Patrick third Earl of Bothwell, whose father, the second Earl, had been keeper of the Castle in the reign of James IV., was seized and committed to the Fortress by order of James V., for secretly passing into England, and holding a treasonable correspondence with the Earl of Northumberland. This Earl, who was the father of the notorious Earl of Bothwell, was confined in the Castle a considerable time, for he was in it as a prisoner in June 1533. One writer asserts that he "died the following year a captive or an exile."¹ This, however, is a mistake. Bothwell certainly was exiled, but he returned to Scotland after the death of James V., was present in the Parliament of 15th March, 1542-3, and was the rival of the Earl of Lennox to obtain the Queen-Dowager Mary of Guise in marriage. He was again in prison at the period of the battle of Pinkie in 1547, the day after which he was released from a long confinement, and he is supposed to have died in exile in 1556.

In 1537, the Castle was partly the scene of one of those atrocious tragedies which stain the national annals, and is indelibly disgraceful to the memory of James V. This was the execution of Lady Glamis, who was tried and convicted on a charge of conspiring to take away the King's life by poison. Jane or Janet Douglas, the victim of this judicial murder, was the second daughter of George Master of Angus, eldest son of the celebrated Earl of Angus, surnamed *Bell-the-Cat* and the *Great Earl*. She married John, sixth Lord Glamis, who died in December 1527, leaving by her a son named John, seventh Lord, then a youth, who was long involved in his mother's misfortunes, and at least one daughter, who became the wife of Ross of Craigie. Lady Glamis afterwards married Archibald Campbell, styled of *Kepneith*, probably Skipnish, the second son of Archibald second Earl of Argyll. Her brother Archibald, who succeeded his grandfather as sixth Earl of Angus, had been forfeited in Parliament in 1528, with his brother George Douglas, and Archibald Douglas his uncle. All persons were strictly prevented from "intercommuning," or affording shelter, food, or raiment, to the Earl and the other specified traitors and rebels, under the penalty of death. Regardless of this prohibition, Lady Glamis awarded to her two brothers and her uncle all the assistance in her power, and this brought on her the implacable vengeance of James V., who had solemnly sworn that while he lived the Douglas family never should be allowed to find refuge in Scotland. In 1528, Lady Glamis had also been summoned with three gentlemen to answer a charge of treason by the Parliament for giving pecuniary and other assistance to her brother the Earl, who had rendered himself obnoxious to James V. by sundry attempts to "invade the King's person" in the month of May 1527, and the charge was continued till the following January, when the proceedings against her seem to have been relinquished. In addition to the charge of treason, she was falsely accused, in 1531, of taking away the life of her husband Lord Glamis *per intoxicationem*, probably meaning the agency of drugs, charms, or enchanted potions. At last, in 1537, Lady Glamis, her son the young Lord Glamis, her husband Campbell of Skipnish, John Lyon, a relation of the deceased Lord Glamis, and an old priest, were committed to Edinburgh Castle on the charge of conspiring against the King's life by poison or witchcraft, with the intention of restoring her brother the Earl of Angus, though the said accusation of "treasonably conspiring or imagining the King's slaughter or destruction by poison" was a new device in the affair. She was brought to trial at Edinburgh on the 17th of July, and among the assize, or fifteen jurymen, were the Earls of Atholl, Cassillis, and Buchan, Lords Maxwell and Sempill, the Master of Glencairn, Sir John Melville of Raith, and Sir James Tours of Inverleith. Unprincipled witnesses were brought forward merely to please the King, and on their false testimony the jury were compelled to return a verdict of guilty, without, as says Sir Thomas Clifford in a letter to Henry VIII., "any substantial ground or proof of matter." Lady Glamis defended herself with an eloquence which astonished

her judges; but she was condemned to be burnt on the Castle-hill; and this infamous sentence was inflicted with the sanction of the King, amid the tears and lamentations of the spectators.¹ Her husband, and her son Lord Glamis, were sentenced to be hanged as “art and part” in the pretended charge of attempting to poison the King. The latter was detained a prisoner in the Castle till the death of James V., when he was restored to his estates and honours.² Her husband attempted to escape from the Castle by means of a rope over the walls, on the day after she was burnt, but he fell on the rocky precipices, and died from the bruises he received. It is said that the contriver of all this barbarity was a person named William Lyon, a relative of Lord Glamis, who, after the death of that nobleman, made advances to Lady Glamis, which she indignantly repelled, and he determined to sacrifice her to his revenge after she married Campbell of Skipnish.³

At the time of this judicial murder of Lady Glamis, who has been most erroneously represented by some writers as having suffered for witchcraft, the Castle was the prison of two other distinguished persons. These were John, sixth Lord Forbes, and his eldest son the Master of Forbes. As it was easy, in that age, to invent any charge of treason, Lord Forbes and the Master had been accused, in 1536, of “conspiring the destruction” of the Scottish army at Jedburgh, or exciting a mutiny among the Scottish forces while on their march to defend the Borders against the English; and the Master was individually indicted for intending to murder the King at Aberdeen by the shot of a “culverin.” The leading person in the plot against the life of Lord Forbes and the Master was George, fourth Earl of Huntly—the same nobleman who was killed at the battle of Corrichie in Aberdeenshire in 1562, and whose second son, Sir John Gordon, was beheaded for his share in that insurrection, which caused the temporary fall of the noble family of Gordon. It is true that the Master of Forbes was also accused of a real crime. In 1530, he was obliged to find surety to “underly the law” for the murder of Alexander Seton of Meldrum in Aberdeenshire, but he obtained a “remission” or pardon that year. Lord Forbes and the Master are said to have been committed prisoners to the Castle in 1536, though, probably, the former only was that year placed in durance; for on the 11th of June, 1537, the Privy Council, at which the King was present, ordered a herald “to pass, and command, and charge the said Master of Forbes to enter his person within the Castle of Edinburgh, under the pain of treason, and there to remain until the first day of July; or else that he, within the said space, find sufficient caution and surety to the Justice-Clerk that he shall compear by the said first day of July before our Sovereign Lord, or his Justice, to defend the said matter as accords upon the law, under the pain of 20,000 merks.” As long as the Master remained in the City of Edinburgh he was not to approach the King’s person nearer than the Nether Bow, which is half-way between the Castle and Holyrood Palace; and if he left the City, he was to keep himself at the respectful distance of three miles from the presence of royalty. Though the Master denied the truth of Huntly’s accusation, and offered to maintain his innocence by single combat, his destruction was determined; and on the 14th of July, 1537, he was tried, convicted, and condemned to be “harlyt and drawn throw the causeway of Edinburgh, and hangit on the gallouse to the deid, and quarterit, and demanit as ane traytour.” The only alteration of the sentence was that he was beheaded, which “favour,” as Sir James Balfour quaintly terms it,⁴ he procured from the King “by the mediatioun of some friendis.” The death of the Master of Forbes was another judicial murder, for if it is true that he married a sister of the Earl of Angus,⁵ such a connexion was sure to bring upon him the vengeance of the King; but he acknowledged on the scaffold that he deserved his fate for the murder of Seton of Meldrum.⁶ His father was detained a prisoner in the Castle for a considerable time, and his brother William, who, after his death, became

¹ Lady Glamis is described as the “most celebrated beauty in the nation, of a middle stature, not too fat, her face of an oval form, with full eyes, her complexion extremely fair and beautiful, with a majestic mien; besides all these perfections, she was a lady of singular chastity; her modesty was admirable, her courage was above what could be expected in her sex, her judgment solid, her behaviour affable and engaging to her inferiors as well as equals.”

² He was the father of John eighth Lord Glamis (father of the first Earl of Kinghorn) and Sir Thomas Lyon of Auldbar. The former was killed in the street of Stirling on the 17th of March, 1578, in an encounter between his followers and those of the Earl of Crawford; and the latter, designed Master of Glamis, figures in the famous plot known as the *Raid of Ruthven*, in 1582, when the bold and daring achievement of seizing the person of James VI. was effected in Ruthven Castle, now Huntingtower, near Perth.

³ Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. pp. 187–190.

⁴ Annales of Scotland, vol. i. p. 268.

So says Calderwood in his *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, Wodrow Society’s edition, 8vo. Edin. 1842, vol. i. p. 112; but no such marriage is narrated in the Peerage accounts. It is expressly stated by Lumsden of Tullikerne, in his *Genealogy of the Family of Forbes*, written in 1580, and printed at Inverness, 8vo. 1810, pp. 11, 18, that the Master of Forbes married “Elizabeth Lyon, daughter to the Lord Glames, who was falsely murdered in Edinburgh, as is notable known,” by which it would appear that Lady Glamis was his mother-in-law, yet her daughter is alleged to have married Ross of Craigie. The Master of Forbes was, however, related to the Douglas family. His great-great-grandfather Sir Alexander Forbes, created Lord Forbes before 1442, married Lady Elizabeth Douglas, only daughter of George Earl of Angus, and grand-daughter of King Robert II., by whom he had issue two sons, the elder of whom succeeded him, and three daughters.

⁶ Pitcairn’s Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 183–187.

Master of Forbes, and eventually succeeded as seventh Lord, was also committed to the Castle as a prisoner. On the 11th of December, 1537, the Privy Council accepted a bond of caution, signed by five gentlemen, three of them of the name of Forbes, that "John Lord Forbes, and his son William Master of Forbes, should not escape from the Castle of Edinburgh."¹ Previous to the 10th of April, 1538, Lord Forbes appears to have been set at liberty, and his son released from durance in the Castle; for on that day a warrant was subscribed by the King, permitting "William Forbes, sonne and appearand aire of Johne Lord Forbes, now beand in our Castell of Edinburghe, to cum and remane in warde in our toune of Edinburghe," from which he was not to depart without the King's special license, under the penalty of 10,000 merks. It is singular that James V. soon admitted him into his favour, and in 1539 appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber—"a degree of confidence," it is well remarked, "unknown in that age of deep revenge."²

James V., of whom it is said that "he had a solemn vow that no one should be spared that was suspected of heresy, though he were his own son," witnessed from the Castle the execution of five persons on the 1st of March, 1538-9.³ The unfortunate individuals, who were first strangled and then burnt on the Castle-hill, were John Keillor, a Dominican or Black Friar, John Beveridge of the same order, Duncan Simpson, a priest from Stirling, Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar in the county of Clackmannan, and a gentleman of Stirling named Robert Forrester, a notary by profession. The general charge against them all, of which they were found guilty, was, that they were "heresiarchs, or chief heretiks, and teachers of heresie." They had been imprisoned in the Castle previous to their trial.

In 1540, Sir Walter Scott of Braxholm and Buccleuch, an ancestor of the Dukes of Buccleuch, was a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle. He had been summoned before the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh for alleged assistance to Lord Dacre in some Border maraudings. Sir Walter Scott had appeared before the Court on the 19th of April, 1535, and submitted to the will of the King, who then imprisoned him, probably in the Castle.⁴ But he was in the Fortress in 1540, for on the 11th of March, 1540-1, William, Earl of Glencairn, John Home of Cowdenknows, and nine others, four of whom were Kers, became cautioners for "the Laird of Braxholme, now being in warde within the Castell of Edinburghe, that he sall remane in warde within the burghe of the samyne, and nocht to depart thairfra, without he obtene license of our Souerane Lord, undir the pane of 20,000 merkis." On the 8th of August, 1541, caution was again found that Sir Walter Scott "pass and remain in the pairtis of Moray, and utheris be-northe the water of Spey, as in our Souerane Lordis warde, induring his will, and nocht to eschaip furth of the samyn," under the penalty of 20,000 merks.⁵ It is said that Sir Walter continued "under a cloud" till the death of James V., in December 1542. He was killed in a nocturnal encounter with Sir Walter Ker of Cessford in the High Street of Edinburgh in October 1552.

Referring the reader to the note below for some details of the condition of the buildings and the artillery of the Castle in the reign of James IV. and James V.,⁶ it may be sufficient to observe, that the Castle of Edinburgh, long before and after that period, was seldom or never without its complement of state-prisoners of rank. Numerous

¹ "In presens of the Lordis Chancellor, President, and Lordis of Counsell, comperit Walter Innes of Touchis, Robert Orrok of that ilk, James Forbes of Carnebo, John Forbes of Drumdocht, and William Forbes of Ardmurdo, who became plegeis and souertieis, conjunctlie and seuerallie, renunciand the benefice of diuision, to the Justice-Clerk, in our Souerane Lordis name, for Johne Lord Forbes and William Maister of Forbes his sone, now being within the Castle of Edinburgh in warde, that thai sall nocht eschew nor depart furth of the said Castle of Edinburgh, bot sall remane thairintill, as in fre warde, quhill thai be fred furth of the samin be the Kingis Grace, under the pane of ten thousand merkis. *Et hoc plegium captum fuit ex mandato Dominorum Consilii.*—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. i. Part I. pp. 186, 187.

² Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, edited by Wood, folio, vol. i. p. 593.

³ The presence of James V. at this inhuman *auto-da-fé* is noticed in his Household Book, under date March 1, 1539—"Accusatio hereticorum, et eorum combustio, apud Edinburgh, Rege presente."

⁴ It is stated by his great namesake, in the Lay of the Last Minstrel, that Sir Walter Scott of Braxholm was imprisoned and forfeited in 1535 for levying war against the Kers; but the assistance rendered to Lord Dacre is the only point mentioned in the summons against him, though it probably originated in the feuds between the

Scotts and the Kers, as Sir Walter Scott was extremely obnoxious to the English, and was noted for his uniform hostility to them.

⁵ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 229.

⁶ According to a popular tradition, the stones used for some of the buildings of Edinburgh Castle were obtained from a quarry, now covered by plantations, near the ruinous castle of Craigmillar. A part of the Fortress was known as *David's Tower*, in which were the *Lord's Hall*, the *Mid-Chalmer*, the *King's Kitchen*, and the *New Court Kitchen*, and for all these are entries of payments of timber work in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts in 1516. In the Fortress were also the *Captain's Tower*, and the *Gun House*, in which latter were the "haill munitione," such as "pikkis, halbarts, billis, mattoks, spades, schovels, halbrokkes, spleuttis;" and various other weapons and implements, and in 1515 were also "artalzere." On the 2d of August that year, a payment is entered for a certain number of carts employed to remove the "guns, gun-stanes, powdir, cofferis, and uthir artalzery out of the Castell and Abbay of Edinburghe to Leithe;" and on the 12th of September a payment for the same labour occurs. The artillery seems at that time to have been under the command of a Frenchman, who is designated "Johanne Bouskat, Commissioner of the Artalzery." In 1527, the Comptroller was ordered to provide stores for four hundred persons to defend the Castle against the English, and the Fortress was thoroughly

instances of these occur in the Justiciary Records, which it is unnecessary to enumerate in this narrative.¹ In February 1545-6, George Wishart, commonly called the Martyr, younger brother of Sir John Wishart of Pitarrow, appointed Comptroller of Scotland and privy councillor after the return of Mary from France in 1561, was apprehended at the house of Cockburn of Ormiston, three miles from Tranent, by the Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of the county, whose son and successor is odious for his crimes in the reign of Queen Mary. Bothwell carried Wishart to Elphinstone Tower, nearly three miles distant, where the Regent Arran and Cardinal Beaton, his deadly enemy, were waiting to receive him, and he was there confined during the night. He was next conveyed by Bothwell to his own castle of Hailes near Haddington; but by the persuasion of the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise, he was removed to Edinburgh Castle by order of the Privy Council. Wishart was soon afterwards transferred, by the influence of Cardinal Beaton, to St. Andrews, where he was tried for heresy, and cruelly burnt on the 1st day of March. Cockburn of Ormiston, and Sandilands younger of Calder,² two avowed enemies of the Cardinal, were also apprehended at Ormiston on the night Wishart was taken; and they were sent to the Castle, in which they were imprisoned for a few weeks.³ Crichton of Brunstane, another of those hostile to the Cardinal, was also with them, and a diligent search was made for him, but he contrived to escape through the woods of Ormiston.⁴ Three years afterwards, on the 5th of February, 1547-8, Nicolas Ramsay of Dalhousie⁵ produced sureties that he would remain in ward, wherever the Governor and Regent, James Earl of Arran, thought proper to appoint. On the 4th of March he again found caution to remain in ward within the "bounds of Fife" during the Governor's pleasure, and that "the said Nycholl sall entir againe in ward within the Castle of Edinburghe or Blackness, within three dayis next after he be chargeat thairto, be our Souverane Lady, my Lord Governour, or thair letteres."⁶ On the 14th of August, 1548, Richard Maitland of Lethington, father of the celebrated Secretary of State to Queen Mary, produced George Lord Seton as his surety that he would enter within the Castle of Edinburgh, or elsewhere, at the pleasure of the Governor, on forty-eight hours' warning.⁷

Robert, third Lord Sempill, was committed a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh for killing William, third Lord Crichton of Sanquhar,⁸ in the residence of the Regent Arran at Edinburgh, and almost in his presence, in June 1552

repaired, at a considerable expense, from November 1538 to September 1539. In March 1540 or 1541, the Duke of Norfolk informs the Lord Privy Seal of England that a "secret frende," who "hath a great authoritie about the ordnance of Scotland," informed him that "there were new trymmed, and part of them newe made, in the Castell of Edinborough, xvi grete peces, as cannons and culveryns, and ix smaller peces for the felde." A Register House was "biggit within the Castell" in 1541, and various payments occur, referring to structures of which it is now impossible to obtain any description, or to identify them as specified in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts. On the 16th of March, 1541-2, David Crichton of Naughton was appointed Captain and Keeper of the Castle for life, with a salary of 400 merks.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. pp. 258, 260, 261.

¹ In 1524, the "Captain" of the Fortress absconded. On the 4th of November, John and George Tennent produced Alexander Livingstone of Donyphace, properly Dunipace, in Stirlingshire, as their surety that they would "underly the law" for allowing James Hamilton of Stenhouse, described as "Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh," to escape from ward. The cause of his imprisonment is not stated.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 331. Lindsay of Pitseottie, who calls him William Hamilton, says that he was also Lord Provost of Edinburgh, which he never was; and that he, his son James Hamilton, and six other persons, one of whom was a woman, were killed on the streets of Edinburgh some time afterwards in a riot by some Frenchmen.

² John Sandilands, eldest son and heir of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, Knight, whose younger son, Sir James Sandilands, was recommended by Sir Walter Lindsay to the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or Knights Templars at Malta, to succeed him as the Grand Master of that Order in Scotland. This personage became the first Lord Torphichen, and at his death in 1596 without issue, the title devolved to his grand-nephew, the grandson of John Sandilands, younger of Calder.

³ Ormiston and Sandilands contrived to escape from the Castle after a month's captivity. On the 29th of March, 1546, James Lawson of Highriggs, a property now occupied partly by George Heriot's Hospital, and two of his friends, "found caution to underly the law

for art and part of the assistance afforded to William Cockburn of Ormiston and the young Laird of Calder in breaking their ward furth of the Castle of Edinburgh." On the same day Sandilands produced as sureties James Forrester, described as *young Laird of Corstorphine*, George Preston of Craigmillar, Robert Mowbray of Barnbogle, John Pennycook of that Ilk, and two others, "for his entry within the Castle of Edinburgh upon twenty-four hours' warning, under the pane of L.10,000 Scots," and that he "sall remane in warde in the mene tyme in the place of Corstorphin Colege, toune, and yards thairrof." This was recalled on the 29th of September, 1546, by the Governor and Regent, the Earl of Arran, who, at St. Andrews, granted letters of license to his "lovit Johne Sandilandis, young Laird of Caldour," to pass to "the partis of France, and thair remane ane certain space, as the said licence mair fullie proportis;" and that he shall "nocht be chargeit to entir in the said warde, nor yit his souerteis sal be unlawit for nonentre of him in warde, until his returning and hame-cuming agane within the Realme of Scotland, and xl dais thaireftir."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 333, 334.

⁴ Cockburn of Ormiston and Crichton of Brunstane were forfeited and banished in 1548 by the Regent Arran, at the instance, it is alleged, of Archbishop Hamilton, his illegitimate brother, the successor of Cardinal Beaton in the Primacy of St. Andrews.

⁵ Nicolas Ramsay of Dalhousie was the grandfather of James Ramsay, whose elder son George was created Lord Ramsay of Melrose in 1618, a title which he relinquished for that of Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie in 1619; and his eldest son William, second Lord, was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Dalhousie in 1633. Sir John, the younger son of James Ramsay, and brother of the first Lord Ramsay, was created Viscount of Haddington in 1606, and Earl of Holderness in the Peerage of England in 1620.

⁶ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. p. 336.

⁷ Ibid. vol. i. Part I. p. 338.

⁸ Grandfather of Robert sixth Lord, who was hanged in Great Palace Yard, before the gate of Westminster Hall, in June 1612, for hiring two men to assassinate an unfortunate fencing-master named Turner.

or 1553. The cause of this murder is not clearly stated; but it is admitted that Lord Sempill was saved from the scaffold by the influence of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, who cohabited with his daughter, by whom he had a son named John Hamilton of Blair. This dame, designated "Lady Gilton," is ungallantly described by Buchanan as neither "handsome nor a woman of good reputation, nor noted for any thing but her wantonness." Be this as it may, the Regent Arran, on the 10th of September, signed a warrant at Edinburgh, in the house of Archbishop Hamilton, who was his illegitimate brother, releasing Lord Sempill from durance in the Castle. The injured relations of the murdered Lord Crichton were obliged to yield to circumstances, and even to affix their names as concurring in the pardon. It can scarcely be doubted that Lord Sempill was indebted for his life to his daughter's connexion with Archbishop Hamilton, who swayed the Regent. Lindsay of Pitscottie loudly denounces the scandal of compounding for such an atrocious crime, and states that "no conviction was made therefor, because he (Sempill) was the Bishop's *guidfather*; but the plague of God left never the Bishop's house thereafter, because they left the public fault unpunished conform to justice."¹

Sir James Balfour states, under the year 1559—"The Lord Herries escapes out of Edinburgh Castle, where he was a prisoner, and joins himself to the Congregation."² The cause of the confinement of Lord Herries is not stated. This nobleman was Sir John Maxwell, second son of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell. He married Agnes, eldest daughter and coheirress of William fourth Lord Herries of Terreagles, and became fifth Lord Herries in right of that lady. The title was confirmed to him by Queen Mary, and as Lord Herries, though he at one time joined the Lords of the Congregation, he is prominent as the devoted adherent of that unfortunate sovereign.

In 1559, Mary of Guise, the widowed consort of James V. and mother of Queen Mary, for whom she had acted as Regent after the deprivation of the Earl of Arran, resided in the Castle during the siege of Leith by the Lords of the Congregation, who were assisted by the English auxiliaries. The state of the Queen-Dowager's health rendered her retreat to the Fortress necessary, as she prudently declined to expose herself in Leith to the hazard of a siege which was protracted to the following year. She, however, daily watched with anxiety from the ramparts all the operations of her adversaries and their English allies, the former of whom had branded her French forces in Leith as "*throat-cutters*," to whose mercy, in their opinion, "no honest men durst commit themselves." During one desperate assault in 1560, in which the besiegers were repulsed, the Queen sat on the battlements of the Castle, regarding with intense feelings the vicissitudes of the fight, even while she was labouring under an illness which in a few days proved fatal. When the Queen saw the English repulsed, and the French banners again placed triumphantly on the walls of Leith, she was unable to repress her joy; and she is accused by John Knox of exclaiming—"Now will I go to mass, and praise God for that which mine eyes have seen;" and she immediately proceeded to the Castle church,³ which was dedicated to the canonized Queen Margaret. The French, elated at their success, are accused of expressing their exultation in a very atrocious manner. As soon as the English had returned to their encampments on Leith Links and the vicinity, the French are said to have sallied out and stripped naked the dead bodies of their assailants, and then to have ranged and suspended the corpses along the outside of the wall, the lower parts of which were composed of sloping earth, and exhibited them in that position several days. When these were shown to the Queen-Dowager, she is reported to have exclaimed—"Ah! yonder is the prettiest tapestry I ever beheld. Would that all the fields between me and Leith were covered with the same stuff!" The Queen must have had most extraordinary powers of vision if she, or any other person, could have recognised a row of dead bodies on the then defences of Leith from Edinburgh Castle, which is about two miles distant in a straight line. Whether she said it is another matter, though it is not likely, when it is recollected that she was then suffering from a malady which caused her death a few days afterwards; and it seems inconsistent with the authentic accounts of her last moments, during which she had an interview with her four most determined opponents, the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Marischall, and Lord James Stuart, then Prior of St. Andrews, subsequently Earl of Moray and Regent of Scotland. During this her mortal illness she requested particularly to have an interview in the Castle with D'Oisel, the French ambassador, to bid him farewell; but this was not permitted, though he had been one of her intimate friends. She addressed to him a

¹ This passage occurs in the octavo edition of Lindsay of Pitscottie's History of Scotland, p. 511; but it is not in the folio edition published at Edinburgh in 1728, p. 198.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 340, 353-355.

² Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 317.

³ The church here spoken of was the ancient one which is de-

scribed as having been a very elegant Gothic structure, altogether different from the present chapel,—a small, plain edifice, without the least architectural pretensions, and which may be classed in the same category with the New Barracks on the western side of the rock, so justly condemned by Sir Walter Scott, in his Provincial Antiquities, as greatly disfiguring the appearance of the Fortress.

letter requesting some medicines, which was intercepted, and presented to Lord Grey of Wilton,¹ the English commander, who quietly observed—"Medicines are more abundant and fresher in Edinburgh than they can be in Leith; there lurketh here some mystery." He held the paper before a fire, and some secret writing appeared, which he examined. His lordship destroyed the letter, observing to the Queen's messenger—"Albeit I have been her secretary, tell her that I shall keep her counsel; but say to her that such wares will not sell till there is a new market." The Queen died in the Castle, almost in the presence of the above-mentioned noblemen, on the 9th of June, 1560; but the apartment is not pointed out, though it must have been one of those in that part of the Fortress in which her grandson James VI. was born. She exhorted the noblemen who were with her at her death-bed to be loyal to her daughter; and lamenting in the most pathetic manner the distracted state of the kingdom, occasioned by religious and political strife, and the unhappy forebodings of the future, she asked forgiveness if she had at any time offended them, and died in the most peaceful manner. If interment suitable to her rank and the rites of her religion had been permitted, it is not unlikely that the body of the Queen-Dowager would have been deposited beside that of her husband in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, but the opposition of the Reformers was too powerful.² The corpse was accordingly enclosed in a leaden coffin, and kept in the Castle until the 19th of October following, when it was placed in a vessel at Leith, conveyed to France, and buried in the Benedictine Convent of St. Peter at Rheims, of which her sister was Abbess.³ John fifth Lord Erskine, properly sixth Earl of Mar, of the surname of Erskine, and in 1565 restored to that ancient earldom, was Keeper of Edinburgh Castle at the death of the Queen-Dowager, and for some years afterwards. He succeeded his father John fourth Lord Erskine in that important charge, and in his honours and estates, in 1552. Lord Erskine subsequently appears as the Regent Mar, the successor of the Earl of Lennox in that high office, and consequently one of the four Regents of Scotland during the minority of James VI.

Queen Mary landed at Leith from France on the 19th of August, 1561. She proceeded directly to the Palace of Holyrood, and some days afterwards made her public appearance in Edinburgh by riding to the Castle, amid the acclamations of the citizens. After dining with Lord Erskine the governor, she returned to Holyrood by the High Street and the Canongate. During the time she was within the Fortress the followers of John Knox had not been idle. As soon as she emerged with her train from the Castle, the first object which met her eye was a little boy, who was made to come out of a round hole, as it is termed, or globe, and present to her a Bible, a Psalter, and the keys of the gates, reciting some complimentary verses.⁴ The other demonstrations, according to Randolph, Queen Elizabeth's resident at Edinburgh, were "terrible significations of the vengeance of God upon idolaters; there were burnt Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, in the time of their sacrifice." It was intended also to burn the effigy of a priest at the altar, in the act of the elevation; but this was prevented by the Earl of Huntly, who that day carried the Sword of State.

In 1563, the Castle contained, as a state prisoner, Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, the last Roman Catholic Primate of Scotland. On the 19th of May in that year the Archbishop and forty-seven persons, most of whom were ecclesiastics of the subverted hierarchy, were arraigned before the High Court of Justiciary for "celebrating the Mass, attempting to restore Popery at Kirkoswald, Maybole, Paisley," and other places, and for "convocation of the lieges. Two of the accused, Hugh Kennedy of Blairquhan, and David Kennedy, gentlemen related to the Earl of Cassillis, were sentenced to be "put in ward within the Castell of Edinburgh, thair to remain during the will and plesour of our Souerane Lady." The same punishment was inflicted on Archbishop Hamilton on the 29th of May; but on the 26th of July he produced William Sempill of Thirdpart, and Michael Nasmyth of Posso, as pledges and sureties, "conjunctlie and severallie," under the penalty of 3000*l.*, that the said Archbishop, then "in our Souerane Ladie's ward within the Castell of Edinburgh," would not "contravene the ordinance and proclamation made by hir

¹ Sir William Grey, thirteenth Baron Grey of Wilton in the county of Hereford, succeeded his brother, the twelfth Baron, about 1529.

² John Knox says, "The preichours bauldly gaynstude that ony superstitious rytes could be ussit within that Realme quhilk God of his grit mercie had begun to purge, and so conclusion was tane that the buriall would be deferrit till further advysement."—*Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 271.

³ Bishop Keith's *History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland*, folio, Edin. 1734, p. 130; and the *SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY'S* edition, 8vo. Edin. 1844, vol. i. pp. 284, 285.—John Knox, in reference to the Queen's burial at Rheims, says, "Quhat pompe was ussit thair

we nouthur heard nor yet regaird; bot in it we see that she who wes delyttit that uthers lay without buriall, gat neyther so sone as she herself, if she had bein of that counsail in her lyfe, wad have requyred it, neyther so honourably in this realme as same tyme she luiked for."—*Historie*, &c. p. 271. He here refers also to the Queen-Dowager's alleged exclamation about the "tapestry."

⁴ Randolph to Cecil, dated Edinburgh, 7th September, 1561, in Keith's *History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland*, p. 189; and in Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters*, vol. i. p. 74.

Grace anent the religion quhilk hir Majestic fand publick and universallic standing at hir arrayal within this Realme furth of the partis of France."¹ This procured the Primate's release, which was not effected without the tears and intercessions of Queen Mary; and his next sojourn in the Castle, which was in 1567, was evidently his own voluntary act.²

The marriage of Queen Mary to Lord Darnley, and the murder of Riccio on the 9th of March, 1565-6, are connected with the history of the Palace of Holyrood, which is subsequently detailed. A few days after the murder of Riccio the Queen proceeded to the Castle. One of the first persons she met when she entered the Fortress was James third Earl of Arran, eldest son of the Duke of Chatelherault, who is already mentioned as the Regent during a part of the Queen's minority. As Arran was allied to the English throne, and was the presumptive heir to the Crown of Scotland, he had been recommended by the Lords of the Congregation to Queen Elizabeth as her husband—an alliance which the English Queen had declined. The cause of his residence in the Castle of Edinburgh as a prisoner, for such he was at the time, requires to be explained. After Mary's arrival in Scotland in 1561 he openly aspired to her hand, but he forfeited all claim to her regard by violently opposing her religious principles. The parsimonious conduct of his father and his disappointed love gradually preyed on his mind, and he at last became insane. He was placed in the Castle for security, and when Mary saw him on this occasion she kissed him, and treated him with marked kindness, which he felt and acknowledged, though he was soon after obliged to leave the Fortress. The Queen had intended her accouchement to take place at Stirling Castle, and went thither for that purpose, but she was persuaded to alter her resolution, and returned to Edinburgh. The Fortress was evidently repaired about this time for the Queen's reception, as the initial of her name in cipher, and the date 1566, occur above the door in the south-east corner of the quadrangle leading into the apartments occupied by her.³ After her return, the Queen, previous to her confinement, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation among the leading nobility, and sent for the Earls of Argyll and Moray, to induce them to agree with the Earls of Huntly, Atholl, and Bothwell. Mary gave them a splendid feast in the Castle, but the parties were too turbulent, irascible, and interested, and the attempt was a failure. Darnley was at this time residing in the castle of Dalkeith,⁴ and the discords between him and the Queen were the constant theme of conversation throughout the kingdom. Meanwhile the Queen amused herself in the Castle with her needle and her books, occasionally taking exercise in the vicinity of the Fortress; for we find Randolph informing Cecil that she had walked one day *a mile out of the Castle*—a fact which intimates that she had no wheeled carriage.⁵ At the beginning of June, the Queen, whose confinement was approaching, invited the principal nobility to Edinburgh, and had frequent interviews with them in the Castle. She made her will, of which she wrote three copies. One was to be sent to France, another she gave to those noblemen to whom she committed the charge of the affairs of the kingdom during her delicate situation, and the third she kept in her own possession. Uncertain that she should survive, the Queen personally arranged everything either for life or death, and was again reconciled to her wayward husband.⁶ On the day preceding her accouchement, Mary wrote a letter which was to be conveyed to Queen Elizabeth by Sir James Melville of Halhill, and she also wrote to Sir William Drury,⁷ Governor of Berwick, requesting him to supply her messenger with passports, and to have post-horses in readiness to facilitate his speedy arrival in London. On the 19th of June, 1566, the future King James VI. of Scotland, and the successor of Queen Elizabeth as James I. of England and Ireland, was born in the Castle.⁸ Sir

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, 4to. vol. i. Part I. pp. 427-429.

² Calderwood's Historie of the Kirk of Scotland, 8vo. Edin. 1843, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. p. 362.

³ The letter M for Mary, with which an H is interwoven, the initial letter of her husband, Henry Lord Darnley. The day after the marriage Mary had caused Darnley to be proclaimed King—a most imprudent act, and one which caused her much trouble, though it was merely nominal, as he never was associated with the Queen in the government, of which, indeed, he was utterly incapable; nevertheless his name, conjointly with the Queen's, occurs in various proclamations, and on certain coins.

⁴ The old castle of Dalkeith, then the stronghold of the Earl of Morton, and popularly known as the *Lion's Den*, from the dark doings of that nobleman, occupied the site of the present Dalkeith Palace.

⁵ Chalmers (Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 173) mentions this pedestrian exercise of the Queen as having occurred after her accouchement. He adds (vol. ii. p. 13)—“The first wheeled carriage which was seen in Scotland was a chariot which the Lady Margaret

(sister of Henry VIII. of England) brought with her when she came to marry James IV. This chariot remained at Methven Castle. After she died, about the spring-time of 1540-1, the Governor had it brought to Edinburgh, and repaired, in March 1542-3.”

⁶ MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Randolph to Cecil, dated Berwick, 7th June, 1566, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. 47, 48.

⁷ See the subsequent part of this narrative for further notice of Sir William Drury, who was conspicuous in the transactions of the time.

⁸ The room in which James VI. was born is, as it now appears, a most repulsive apartment, almost square, of exceedingly limited dimensions, the window of which looks towards the Grassmarket and the south-east parts of the city, and is the fourth window from the Half-Moon Battery in the south-east corner of the Fortress. The room is on the basement story as entered from the quadrangle in the Castle, and the access to it is by a dark passage leading into the Canteen. This miserable room, which is always shown to visitors of the Fortress, has a small fire-place, and if it has not since been altered, it is astonishing how the Queen could have been accommodated in it. In com-

James Melville, who was in the Fortress, and, according to his own account, "praying night and day for her Majesty's good and happy delivery of a fair son," was immediately dispatched with the tidings of this important event to Queen Elizabeth. He reached London in three days, and found Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, to whom he was introduced while she was "in great mirth dancing after supper; but so soon as the Secretary Cecil whispered in her ear the news of the Prince's birth, all her mirth was laid aside for that night, all present marvelling whence proceeded such a change; for the Queen did sit down, putting her hand under her cheek, bursting out to some of her ladies, that the Queen of Scots was mother of a fair son, while she was but a barren stock."¹ Margaret (also called Helen) Little, wife of Alexander Gray, burgess of Edinburgh, was the "maistress nutrix" of the infant Prince, and for her services she received, in February 1566-7, a grant of half the lands of Kingsbarns, between Crail and St. Andrews in Fifeshire, during her own lifetime and that of her husband. In July 1566, the Queen also granted to Margaret Houston and her son Thomas Beveridge an annual donation, for life, of two chalders and four bolls of barley from the Newtown of Falkland, for good service rendered by the said Margaret Houston at the birth of the Prince in the Castle.² Darnley was with the Queen when the Prince was born, and wrote a congratulatory letter to the Cardinal of Guise, which he dates "*in great haste*" from the Castle, and sent it by a gentleman whom he does not name.³

In the beginning of August, after her complete recovery, Queen Mary left Edinburgh Castle and proceeded to Lord Erskine's family mansion of Alloa Tower, whence she removed to Stirling Castle. The Queen embarked at Newhaven near Leith, preferring to proceed to Alloa by water, as she had no wheeled carriage, and had not yet sufficient strength to hazard herself on horseback. Buchanan relates that Mary sailed to Alloa, which is about thirty miles distant from Edinburgh, in the company of *pirates*; but he conceals the fact, that the said "pirates" were the Earl of Bothwell, then Lord High Admiral of Scotland, whose duty it was to provide the vessel for the Queen's accommodation, and the ordinary seamen; and he also omits to notice that she was accompanied by the Earls of Moray and Mar, some of the officers of state, and her usual attendants. Darnley chose to follow the Queen to Alloa by land, and remained there two nights with her, another reconciliation having been effected by the French ambassador Mauvissière. On the 22d of August, after a hunting expedition into Meggetdale in Peebles-shire, the Queen and Darnley removed the infant Prince from Edinburgh Castle to Stirling Castle; and he was again brought to the former Fortress by the Queen, when she returned from Stirling in January 1566-7, before she proceeded to Glasgow to remove Darnley, who had been seized with severe illness, to Edinburgh. After the murder of Lord Darnley on the 10th of February, 1566-7, the Queen took up her residence for a few days in the Castle. The Queen's conduct on that memorable occasion will, of course, be viewed differently by her partisans and by her accusers. She shut herself up in a close apartment, and was, apparently at least, absorbed in grief at the atrocious act which had made her again a widow. Her physicians, alarmed at the state of her health, represented her condition to the Privy Council, who advised her to retire to the country for a short period. On the 16th of February the Queen left the Castle and proceeded to Seton House, the stately mansion of Lord Seton on the shore of the Frith of Forth, in the parish of Tranent, nearly eleven miles east of Edinburgh, accompanied by the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, and Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the county of Haddington, Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, Secretary Maitland of Lethington, and about a hundred attendants. It is singular that this assemblage consisted of Bothwell, the actual murderer, Maitland, one of at least other three who concerted the crime, and Archbishop Hamilton, Argyll, and Huntly, with many of the leading nobility and state functionaries who had joined the conspiracy against Darnley, while some, one of whom was the Earl of Moray, cautiously avoided sharing directly in a plot which they deemed it impolitic or dangerous to reveal. Mary remained at Seton House

memoration of the birth of James VI. the following doggerel lines are painted on the wall:—

"Lord Jesu Chryst, that crownit was with thornse,
Preserve the birth, quhais badgie heir is borne,
And send his Sone successione to reigne still
Lang in this Realme, if that it be Thy will.
Als grant, O Lord, quhat ever of Hir proseed
Be to Thy Glorie, Honor, and Prais: so beid."

These lines were probably the production of some contemporary poet-aster, for they are printed by the magniloquent Mr. Pennycook in his History of the Blue Blanket, published in the reign of Queen Anne, and Maitland inserted them in his History of Edinburgh, folio, Edin. 1753, p. 161. The room is panelled with painted wood, instead of plaster, and the roof is also of wood, divided into four compartments. The date

"19 Iunii" is painted above the fire-place, the side on the left of it contains the preceding rhymes under the Royal arms of Scotland, and opposite the fire-place is the date 1566. On the roof are the initials M.R. and I.R., indicating MARY R. and JAMES R., repeated twice, and surmounted by crowns. The whole is emblazoned, and displays an attempt at ornament in a very rude style.

¹ Memoirs of Sir James Melville of Halhill, London, folio, 1683, pp. 69, 70, and the same, printed from the original MS. for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1827, pp. 158, 159.

² Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 176.

³ Printed in Miss Strickland's Letters of Mary Queen of Scots, 8vo London, 1842, vol. i. p. 21. The letter is short, and contains no important information beyond the fact of the Prince's birth, and a request that the King of France would send a representative to the baptism.

till the 7th of March, when she returned to Edinburgh, and received in the Castle a letter of condolence from Queen Elizabeth, which was delivered by the English ambassador Killigrew. The Queen again went to Seton House on the 9th, but she seems to have returned to Edinburgh on the following day, or on the 11th; and on the 19th of March the infant Prince was conveyed from the Castle to Stirling, in which Fortress he was delivered in trust to the Earl of Mar till he should attain the age of seventeen years. Previous to her unfortunate marriage to the Earl of Bothwell, soon after the murder of Darnley, Lord Erskine was induced by the Queen to surrender the Fortress, which he did on the 19th of March, 1566-7, when he received a discharge from the Queen and Privy Council for himself, and as successor of his father, and his deputies and servants, of their "intromission" with the Castle, which was ratified by the Parliament on the 16th of April, 1567.¹ Mary's object in this was to confer the command of the Fortress on the profligate and unprincipled Bothwell, and she actually appointed him on the 19th of March, 1566 7, three weeks before his mock trial for the murder of Darnley. Mary's subsequent calamities, and Bothwell's expulsion and forfeiture, rendered his tenure of brief duration, and probably his command was merely nominal; for it is stated, that in March 1566-7, after the infant Prince was sent to the Earl of Mar at Stirling, the Queen consigned the Castle to Sir William Cockburn of Skirling, Knight, who "keipit the samin till the 22d of Apryl, and then Sir James Balfour of Pittendreich, Knight, Laird of Burghley, was made Captane thair of."² It subsequently appears, however, that the latter was appointed substitute for Bothwell. After Bothwell's extraordinary seizure of Queen Mary's person, not unwillingly, it is evident, on her part, between Kirkliston and Edinburgh, and her conveyance to Dunbar Castle, it was rumoured in Edinburgh that he had forcibly committed violence towards her. The city gates were ordered to be shut, the inhabitants ran to arms, and the artillery of the Castle was fired. On the 6th of May, the third day after his divorce from his countess, Lady Jane Gordon, Bothwell brought Queen Mary from Dunbar to Edinburgh, and at his arrival we are told that the "artailzarie of the Castell shot maist magnificientlie." The Queen entered the City by the West Port, and rode through the Grassmarket and up the West Bow to the Castle, Bothwell on foot leading the horse by the bridle. On the 8th of May a proclamation was issued at the Palace of Holyrood, announcing that the Queen intended to marry Bothwell, and on the same night Balfour was constituted Captain and Governor of the Castle. On the 11th, the day before her infatuated marriage, the Queen and Bothwell removed from the Castle to the Palace.³ This was, apparently, the last time Queen Mary was in the Fortress. Immediately before her surrender at Carbery Hill, near Musselburgh, to the confederated nobility, Sir James Balfour deserted the Earl's interest, which he was too sagacious not to see was utterly ruined; and we are told that he was "so dealt withall, that the matter came to talking, whereby he was suddenly corrupted with money, and randerit the Castell in their hands, to the prejudice of the prince and his maister who placed him there."⁴

During the imprisonment of Queen Mary in Lochleven Castle, after her compulsory abdication of the throne, her illegitimate brother the Earl of Moray, who had been appointed Regent, induced Sir James Balfour to resign the command of the Castle for a sum of money and a grant of lands, and bestowed it on Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange in Fife,⁵ who had been one of the most active conspirators against Cardinal Beaton at St. Andrews in 1545-6. Kirkaldy resided in the Castle, and appears to have had the principal direction of affairs during the Regent Moray's journeys to the conferences at York, relative to Queen Mary, with the English commissioners. A curious instance of the credulity of the age occurs at this time. In 1568, Sir William Stewart, Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms, was consigned to Kirkaldy's care in the Castle on a charge of conspiring against the Regent's life by sorcery and necromancy. On the 2d of August he was removed from the Fortress, and committed a close prisoner to Dunbarton Castle. The Regent affected to pardon him for plotting his destruction, and allowed him to be strangled and burnt for "conjurat[i]on and witchcraft."⁶ The truth is, that the unfortunate Lord Lyon was a supporter of Queen Mary—the whole kingdom

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 647.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 479.

³ Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents in Scotland since the Death of James IV. till the year 1575, 4to. 1833, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 110, 111.

⁴ Historie and Life of King James the Sext, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 11.

⁵ Sir William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the earliest converts to the Reformed doctrines in Scotland, and a brave and accomplished man, was the eldest son of Sir James Kirkaldy, Lord High Treasurer to James V. Knox designates Sir William's mother, who was a daughter of Melville of Raith, called by courtesy Lady Grange, "ane

ancient and godlye matron." When James V. was on his way to Falkland Palace, after the rout of his army at the Solway Frith, he lodged one night in the house of Halyards, in the parish of Auchtertool in Fife, which then belonged to Kirkaldy of Grange, and he was received with great courtesy and sympathy for that misfortune, which, however, caused his death at Falkland Palace a few days afterwards. The execution of Sir William Kirkaldy, afterwards related, was one of the most atrocious acts of that unprincipled age.

⁶ Lord Hunsdon to Sir William Cecil, dated Berwick, 30th August, 1569; Birrel's Diary, p. 17; Annals of Scotland, by Sir James Balfour of Denmiln and Kinnaird, Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms to Charles I. and Charles II., vol. i. p. 345.

having been divided, after her flight to England, into two factions, known as the Queen's Men and the King's Men; and the charge of witchcraft, though it was the common belief of the age, was a convenient device to get rid of a political opponent.¹ Kirkaldy was at this time a zealous supporter of the Regent Moray's party, or the King's Men; and when Sir James Balfour was accused by the Earl of Lennox in 1569 for his connexion with his son Darnley's murder, he was imprisoned in the Castle. Incited by Secretary Maitland of Lethington, whose policy he generally followed, Balfour had intrigued sedulously for Queen Mary in 1568 and 1569, during the Regent Moray's absence in England. He was liberated upon his own security, and was never brought to trial, having effected a reconciliation with the Regent by liberal bribes to his servants. Little doubt, however, can be entertained of the truth of the accusation. He is said to have been the original deviser of the plot against Darnley, though he was not personally present at the murder. He is aptly designated the "most corrupt man of his age"²—an age notorious for the most abandoned profligacy, and John Knox severely describes him as one of a family in whom was "neither fear of God nor love of virtue farther than the present commodity persuaded them."³

Maitland of Lethington was committed a prisoner to the Castle in 1568–9, before the assassination of the Regent Moray by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, at Linlithgow, in January 1569–70. On the 14th of February he was brought from the Castle to the Tolbooth, in which the Privy Council met, and he "made ane perfect oration, whereuntil he lamented the death and murther of my Lord Regent, and made his purgation of the horrible cryme, wherefore, as he alleged, he was put in captivity." He was declared innocent, and set at liberty.⁴ He seems to have returned to the Castle of his own accord, for on the 28th of May, 1578, he left the Fortress to attend a convention at Dunkeld.⁵ On the last day of March 1570, Lord Herries was liberated from the Castle, in which he had been imprisoned from April 1569.⁶ It appears that after the battle of Langside, which decided the fate of Queen Mary, many of the chief prisoners were committed to the Castle; for on the 17th of April the Privy Council ordered the Duke of Chatelherault, the Master of Herries, and others in custody in the Fortress, to be discharged.⁷ Among the minor incidents which occurred at that time, is one of an extraordinary pursuit on horseback from Bathgate, nineteen miles distant, to the Castle. Robert Hepburn, second son of Patrick Hepburn of Waughton, was at that town, and the Lairds of Applegarth and Carmichael, with some of the Earl of Morton's servants, having information of his movements, and anxious to apprehend him, as he was alleged to have been concerned in the murder of Darnley and of the Regent Moray, endeavoured to seize him. He instantly mounted his horse and fled to Edinburgh, followed by his pursuers at full speed. He entered the outer gate of the Fortress, into which he was admitted by Kirkaldy, on the 7th of September, when almost within the grasp of his enemies. The chronicler of the time considers his escape wonderful—he, "ryding upon ane broun naig, could never have space to change of the same upon his led horse, but continuallie raid till he came to the Castle foresaid, while his pursuers not only changed horse, but also did cast from them saddels and other geir to make light for pursewing of him." The same authority adds that the Regent Lennox and Morton were enraged at Kirkaldy for receiving Hepburn; yet two days afterwards he was delivered to the Regent, on the condition that nothing was to be charged against him except Darnley's and the Regent Moray's murder.⁸

After the murder of the Regent Moray it was uncertain which party Kirkaldy intended to support; but the Castle soon became the resort and rendezvous of all Queen Mary's adherents, and he at length openly declared in her favour, keeping possession of the Fortress in her name. The Earl of Lennox was chosen to succeed Moray in the Regency, and was supported by Queen Elizabeth, who sent troops into Scotland for that purpose. Meanwhile Kirkaldy obeyed the orders of Queen Mary's party, who now assembled Parliaments of their own; and he restored to liberty all who had been consigned to his custody for opposition to the King's party, or the authority of the Regent. Yet he so far acted prudently, that he refused to countenance the extreme measures of his new confederates till he saw the English forces advance to Edinburgh, the rigorous treatment of the Queen's friends, and a civil war raging

¹ The fate of Sir William Stewart, or rather the prosecution against him, is not recorded in the Books of Adjournal, but little doubt can be entertained of the fact from the evidence of contemporaries.

² Robertson's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 354.

³ Knox's "*Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland*," p. 82. Sir James Balfour was most prominent in many of the eventful transactions of the reign of Queen Mary and the early part of the reign of James VI., during the Regencies of Moray, Lennox, Mar and Morton. He was the father of Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh, created Lord Balfour of Burleigh in 1606—a peerage attained in the person

of Robert fifth Lord, for his connexion with the rebellion of 1715. His second son, Sir James, was created Lord Balfour of Glenawley in the peerage of Ireland, in 1619, and his title apparently became extinct at his death in 1634. Sir James Balfour, who actually, notwithstanding his crimes, became Lord President of the Court of Session in December 1567, is supposed to have died in 1583.

⁴ *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 158.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 178.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 167.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 170, 171.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 186, 187.

throughout the kingdom. Aware of his hazardous position, Kirkaldy began to repair and fortify the Castle, and to collect stores necessary for a siege. The Regent Lennox, who had summoned an army to attend him in the young King's name, applied to Kirkaldy for some artillery from the Fortress, but this request was declined, on the pretence that he would not be accessory to the shedding of blood. The object of this hostile array was to prevent a parliament intended to be held by the Queen's party at Linlithgow in September 1770, which it effectually accomplished, and in October one was assembled for the King by Lennox in Edinburgh. The presence of the Regalia or the "Honours"—the crown, the sceptre, and the sword of state,—was always necessary to confer legality on meetings and enactments of the Parliament, and they were demanded by the Regent from Kirkaldy, who had them in safe custody in the Castle. A decided refusal was the reply, and from that time he was considered as a determined adherent of the Queen's party. The mediation of Elizabeth effected a cessation of hostilities for two months, which was renewed till the following April 1571, though it was not strictly observed by either faction. Three months after this a "play," alluding to the siege, was performed before John Knox, which is thus recorded—"This year (1571) in the moneth of July, Mr. Johne Davidstone, one of our regents (in the University of St. Andrews) made a play at the marriage of Mr. Johne Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr. Knox's presence, wherein, according to Mr. Knox's doctrine, the Castell of Edinburgh was besieged, taken, and the Captin (Kirkaldy), with ane or twa with him, hangit in effigie."¹ It will immediately appear how literally this was verified.

Sir William Kirkaldy about this time exercised his office as commander or "captain" of the Fortress in a very arbitrary manner. On the 21st of December, 1570, he is accused of causing John Kirkaldy, described as burgess of Kinghorn in Fife, and five of his household retainers, to proceed to Leith in warlike array, and murder Henry Seton, servant to the Laird of Durie. They then returned to the Castle, but one of them, named James Fleming, was apprehended, and committed to the Tolbooth. When Kirkaldy was informed of the capture of this individual, he sent down, about eight in the evening, a party from the Fortress, all strongly armed, who broke the door of the Tolbooth, rescued their comrade, and conveyed him to the Castle, during which Kirkaldy discharged seven pieces of his artillery over the city. The Regent Lennox, who was then at his residence in the city, took no notice of this affair, and the provost and magistrates thought proper to remain within their houses.² Kirkaldy convened a meeting of his friends in January, to consult respecting the "satisfaction" to be made for the slaughter of Henry Seton, which seems to have been easily arranged, for on the 28th of that month it is recorded that he was present at the delivery of a sermon in St. Giles's Church.³ On the 4th of February he hired one hundred soldiers to occupy the residence of a citizen on the Castle-hill as a guard-house, and constituted James Melville their captain. On the 19th of March, Kirkaldy, by beat of drum through the city, invited all who wished to serve under Melville to be present with their arms the following morning at the Castle-hill to receive their pay; and on that day he had the boldness to place some of his garrison in the Palace of Holyrood.⁴ On the 10th of April, 1571, Maitland of Lethington arrived in Leith Roads by sea from Aberdeen, accompanied by some of the Earl of Huntly's followers, and he was carried in a chair from Leith to the Castle by Kirkaldy's soldiers.⁵ The Regent Lennox was denounced by Kirkaldy, as having unlawfully intruded himself into the government, by a proclamation at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 13th of April; and on the following day Lords Maxwell and Herries, and Gordon of Lochinvar, entered the Castle to attend a convention of the Queen's party. Lord Herries and Gordon of Lochinvar remained in the Fortress till the 18th of April, when they went to meet Alexander Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, who was at Carlisle in the interest of Queen Mary. On the 27th of April all the artillery, and a number of pikes belonging to the city, were seized by Kirkaldy and conveyed to the Castle. Many other minute incidents are recorded of Kirkaldy's proceedings in connexion with the Fortress at that time.

The surprise of Dunbarton Castle by the Regent's friends, and the fate of Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, who had taken refuge in it, alarmed Kirkaldy, who commenced a still more thorough repair of the fortifications of the Castle. He also prepared the tower, which rises from the centre of St. Giles's Church, and is surmounted by open arches to receive a battery. His brother Sir James Kirkaldy arrived from France with ten thousand crowns of gold, military stores, and wine, which were safely conveyed from Leith to the Castle, with assurances of further assistance. All who were opposed to Queen Mary's party were ordered to leave Edinburgh, and Kirkaldy's former friend John

¹ Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville, 8vo. Edin., printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, p. 27.

² *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 197.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 198, 199.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 202

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 206.

Knox was compelled to allow his place to be supplied by Alexander Gordon, the above-mentioned Bishop of Galloway. The Queen's party, consisting of the Hamiltons and others, commanded by the Earl of Huntly, were at this time strong in the city; and they had now the courage to hold a parliament in the very metropolis, in which the demission of Mary was declared void, prayers for the Queen were enjoined, and those who refused were forbidden to preach. Although the Palace of Holyrood was in possession of the Regent, they rode from it in procession to the Castle, preceded by the Regalia, which were produced by Kirkaldy for the occasion.

Skirmishes were now frequent in the streets and vicinity of the city between the Queen's adherents and the King's party, the latter commanded by the Earl of Morton for the Regent Lennox, the most noted of which was the conflict of "Black Saturday," fought on Saturday the 16th of June, 1571, and so called on account of the treachery by which it was distinguished, and the slaughter which took place. It was also ironically designated "Drury's Peace," from the very questionable conduct of Sir William Drury,¹ the authorized agent of Queen Elizabeth, on that occasion. In the meantime Secretary Maitland of Lethington had entered the Castle, and maintained the Queen's cause with Kirkaldy. They were joined by Sir James Balfour, for which sentence of forfeiture was declared against him on the 30th of August. In the ensuing month Kirkaldy concerted a plan for seizing the Regent Lennox at Stirling, where he had summoned a parliament, and bringing him safe to Edinburgh Castle, which failed solely owing to the imprudent conduct of the parties concerned. It is said that Lennox was actually a prisoner, and on the road to Edinburgh, when he was rescued by Morton; but he was shot by one Captain Calder, and died of the wound in Stirling Castle.

The Earl of Mar, previously mentioned as Lord Erskine, was elected Regent. He applied himself to allay the violence of the contending factions, which had almost ruined the kingdom, and he entered into a negotiation with Kirkaldy and those of the Queen's party in the Castle. He was so far successful in his endeavours to restore peace, that the signing of a treaty was almost the only formality required; but Morton and his associates completely frustrated the projected agreement. Among the other characteristic incidents of that turbulent age was a rival coinage, the one by Morton, and the other by Kirkaldy. We are told that Morton, as if he were equal with the Regent Mar

¹ Sir William Drury was the eldest son of Sir Robert Drury of Egerly, in Buckinghamshire. "His youth," says Lloyd, in his "Worthies of England," "was spent in the French wars, his middle age in Scotland, and his old age in Ireland." He died Lord Deputy of Ireland in 1579. The conflict of *Black Saturday* is worthy of notice, as illustrating the state of the opposing parties. The Earl of Morton then occupied Leith, and, among his other hostile measures against the Queen's party commanded by the Earl of Huntly, he resolved to secure all provisions sent to Edinburgh. To accomplish this, he stationed parties of soldiers on the road leading from Leith towards Newhaven on the west, and the Figgate Whins on the east, an extensive furzy tract now partly occupied by the modern town of Portobello. Morton's forces intercepted and brought into Leith all kinds of stores, which he appropriated to the use of his soldiers, and detained the carts and horses employed in conveying the goods. He also compelled many of the neighbouring peasantry to join him—an expedient which increased the number of his soldiers, but added nothing to his advantage, as persons "whose thoughts are turned on peace" embark in military life with the utmost reluctance. Considering himself sufficiently strong to encounter the Queen's adherents, Morton drew out his forces to Hawkhill, in the immediate vicinity of the small lake of Lochend, between the hamlet of Restalrig and Leith Links, commanding a splendid view of the city of Edinburgh. Here, by way of defiance to the opposite party, Morton paraded in battle array. Provoked by this bravado, the Earl of Huntly speedily mustered his followers and a strong detachment of the Queen's Men, and left the city, with two field-pieces, to encounter Morton. Huntly proceeded to a locality called the *Quarry Holes*, often appropriately designated *Quarrel Holes*, on account of the many turbulent ebullitions which occurred at the place, under the north-east face of the Calton Hill, and near the site of the present Hillside Crescent on the London road, a few hundred yards in a direct line from Hawkhill, now a pleasant suburban residence. While Morton and his party were drawn up at Hawkhill, and Huntly at the Quarry Holes, the latter was visited by Sir William Drury, who had been at Leith with Morton, and the other leaders of the King's Men, during the previous night. Drury's object was to propose an amicable adjust-

ment of the difference, and that no loss of life might ensue between those who were not only countrymen and neighbours, but many of them relatives, and till lately intimate friends. With all the zeal of a peace-maker he proposed terms of accommodation to Huntly, which were considered satisfactory; but one important point remained to be adjusted and this was who should first leave the ground. On this point both Morton and Huntly were obstinate, the former charging Huntly with various acts of hostility and insult, and the latter insisting that Morton must march off first, as he had been on this occasion the aggressor. Sir William Drury very naturally suggested that both parties should retire at the same time, upon a signal from him—"And that signal," said he, "shall be the throwing up of my hat." This ingenious proposal satisfied both parties, who do not appear to have been particularly anxious to incur the risk of broken heads; and all the other items of Sir William's negotiations were equally acceptable. Having adjusted matters with Huntly, he hastened across the fields to Morton, to instruct him particularly respecting the signal of the hat. After a short confabulation with the Earl, Sir William stepped out, as if making for the centre between the contending parties, to give the signal. Before he proceeded half-way between Hawkhill and the Quarry Holes he threw up his hat, and away went Huntly and his followers, marching back to the city by the Abbey-hill and the Canongate, without the slightest suspicion of the trick played them either by Sir William Drury's or Morton's treachery, and confiding in the honour of their opponents, who, they concluded, had returned to Leith. No sooner had the Queen's party moved off the ground than Morton's soldiers, who had never left their position, ran across the fields, and furiously assailed Huntly and his followers, who were retiring in no very orderly manner. They were put to flight, and pursued into the city; a considerable slaughter took place; dead and wounded men lay in all directions; and Lord Home, several gentlemen of distinction, and seventy-two private individuals, were brought prisoners to Leith, with a pair of colours, some horses, and the two field-pieces. Such was the conflict of *Black Saturday*, which was long remembered in Edinburgh. Drury swore that he was entirely innocent, and laid the whole blame on the Earl of Morton; but he was not believed, and was soon compelled to leave the city.

in authority, "causit prent a new kind of leyit money in his castell of Dalkeyth, of the price of sax shillings and eight pennies, to have course (circulation) in the countrie by the Regent's proclamation; and at this same time was prentit in the Castell of Edinburgh, certane species of fyne silver, availing threttie, twentie, and ten shillings the pece; these Morton causit to be broken down, to make up his new sophisticat coyne, whilk thereafter had course for many years."¹ The Regent Mar died in October 1572, and he was succeeded by Morton, when the war may be said to have recommenced in right earnest.

Secretary Maitland of Lethington was one of those who encouraged Sir William Kirkaldy to defend the Castle, to which the latter was the more inclined as he had been promised assistance from France, and especially from the celebrated Duke of Alva. John Knox, with characteristic political foresight, sent Kirkaldy a warning message. "His soul is dear to me," said Knox, "and I would not willingly see it perish. Go, and tell him from me that if he persists in his folly, neither that crag in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal wit of that man (Maitland) whom he counts a demigod, shall save him; but he shall be dragged forth, and hanged in the face of the sun." Kirkaldy returned a contemptuous answer, dictated by Maitland, but he afterwards remembered the admonition when he became the victim of the Regent Morton's vengeance.²

The Regent Morton, immediately after his appointment, summoned Kirkaldy to surrender. The answer was a bold and obstinate defiance, reminding Morton of many unpleasant events in his past life which could not fail to enrage him, and exhorting him to return to his allegiance as a loyal subject of the Queen. This was towards the end of 1572; and Kirkaldy, to show his determination, opened a fire upon the city, killing a number of the inhabitants and of Morton's soldiers, which excited the public mind against him. It was probably at this time that Henry second Lord Methven was killed by a ball from the Castle. This is said to have occurred on the 3d of March, 1571-2, and his body was conveyed from Leith by sea to Perth, and interred at Methven on the 21st of that month.³ A temporary truce was arranged between Kirkaldy and the Regent till the 1st of January. During the cessation of hostilities Morton erected two bulwarks across the Lawnmarket, to protect the citizens from Kirkaldy's cannonade. The day of the truce had no sooner expired than a furious fire was commenced from the Castle. Kirkaldy's artillery was chiefly directed against the Fishmarket, then recently erected. Some of the shot fell among the baskets of fish exposed for sale, and beat many so high that they alighted on the tops of the houses.⁴ Numbers of the poorer classes, regardless of the danger, ventured into the street to secure the scattered contents of creels and baskets deserted by their owners from Newhaven and Fisherrow, when a bullet fell among them, by which five persons were killed and twenty more were dangerously wounded. On a stormy night soon afterwards, Kirkaldy directed his artillery against the west end of the West-Port, to prevent some of the Regent Morton's friends entering the city by that quarter. As the houses were chiefly thatched, the tenements were soon in a blaze, a strong wind spreading the flames; yet Kirkaldy persisted in his cannonade, and no assistance could be rendered to the inmates.⁵

These proceedings appeared so wanton and unnecessary, that the citizens were greatly exasperated against Kirkaldy and his garrison. Such a hazardous state of affairs, in reality, could not long be allowed to continue in a

¹ *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 106.

² This message, or at least one of a similar import, from John Knox to Sir William Kirkaldy in the Castle, was delivered by David Lindsay, minister of Leith, and titular Bishop of Ross from 1600 to his death in 1613. This gentleman baptised Charles I. On the particular occasion above mentioned, when he delivered Knox's message, it made some impression on Kirkaldy, who immediately consulted Maitland of Lethington; but that extraordinary person encouraged him to hold out the Fortress, designating Knox a "drying," or drivelling, "prophet."—See the conversation between Kirkaldy and Lindsay in the "Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville," Wodrow SOCIETY's edition, pp. 34, 35.

³ Perth Kirk-Session Register, MS. in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh. Henry Stewart, second Lord Methven, was the only son of Henry Stewart, second son of Andrew Lord Avondale, and his second wife, Lady Janet Stewart, eldest daughter of John second Earl of Atholl, the widow of Alexander Master of Sutherland, and of Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvan Mains. This Henry Stewart married the Princess Margaret of England, already mentioned as the widow of James IV., in 1526, and in 1528 he was created Lord Methven. Walpole, in his "Royal and Noble Authors," mentions the "tragedie"

of the Lord Methven, killed at Edinburgh Castle, 1572, written by a gentleman absurdly designated Lord Semphill. He was succeeded by Henry, his son by his wife Jane, eldest daughter of Patrick third Lord Ruthven. He married a granddaughter of James Stewart, Earl of Arran, but he had no issue, and at his death the Peerage became extinct. Lord Methven was killed at Broughton, then a baronial village, now a part of the new city of Edinburgh, in the immediate vicinity of York Place and Picardy Place. A party riding on horseback from Leith thought proper to "ryde about the toun and Castell to show themselfis brave; and as they recklessly came to a place called Broch-toun and assemblit in a troupe, a great cannon was delashit amangis them, whare be chance that martiall nobleman the Lord Methven, with seven uthir horsemen, was killit."—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. Edin. 1835, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 100.

⁴ Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 4to. 1779, p. 32.

⁵ It appears that most of the street called the West-Port was burnt on this occasion. The fire extended itself on the east to the Magdalen Chapel—a small religious house without the Grassmarket, near the east end of the West-Port, and not the present Magdalen Chapel, which is in the Cowgate, near the south-eastern entrance into the Grassmarket, immediately west of George IV.'s Bridge.

city like Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which were congregated in houses partly of wood, with thatched roofs, and other inflammable materials. The Regent Morton, having formed a treaty with the powerful family of Hamilton, the Earls of Huntly and Argyll, and other leaders of Queen Mary's party, from the benefits of which Kirkaldy was purposely excluded, now solicited the assistance of Queen Elizabeth to reduce the Castle. He was in want of every thing requisite for a siege, but Kirkaldy was in no better condition for defence. Though he had abundance of ammunition, his provisions were limited, and his supply of water was liable to be cut off. This had been partially done already, and his access to the excellent spring near the Well-House Tower, immediately under the base of the north-east side of the perpendicular rock of the Castle, was prevented, though not without several bloody skirmishes and considerable loss. Morton's soldiers obtained possession in defiance of Kirkaldy, who had erected a bulwark to defend this important well, the remains of which are still to be seen. In addition to this disaster he was annoyed by the seizure of one year's rental of Queen Mary's dowry remitted to him from France, and entrusted to the care of Sir James Kirkaldy his brother. Having ascertained that it would be impossible for him to enter the Fortress, as all access to it and to the city was vigilantly guarded, he landed at Blackness Castle, the governor of which made his peace with Morton by surrendering to him Blackness, with his prisoner and his treasure, which included a large supply of money, arms, and military stores.

Sir William Kirkaldy was well aware of the application for assistance to Queen Elizabeth, yet notwithstanding his gloomy position, his courage was unbroken, and Maitland of Lethington was sanguine. They both flattered themselves that the parsimony of the English Queen would never submit to the expense of sending an army and battering-train to Scotland; and they confidently expected assistance from France, and that in the meantime the walls of the Fortress would completely defy the besiegers.¹ For several weeks these assumptions appeared to be realized, and Elizabeth, who dreaded a war with France, was hesitating in her resolutions at the very moment that Cecil² had convinced her of the necessity of sending her forces into Scotland. She represented to her privy council the great expense, difficulty, and hazard of the siege, and urged that the Regent Morton ought to be able to conclude it without her aid. Killigrew, her ambassador at Edinburgh, became alarmed at this indecision, and announced in the most emphatic manner to Cecil, that if the assistance was refused they should lose Scotland, which would be certainly united in a league with France. He entreated Cecil to represent to the Queen, in the most energetic language, the absolute necessity of securing her influence in Scotland, which could be achieved at no very great expense, and concluded his letter by saying—"God's will be done. For mine own part, if this Castle be not recovered, and that with expedition, I see, methinks, the beginning of sorrows, and her Majesty's peaceable reign hitherto decaying, as it were in post, which God of his mercy defend!"³

These representations had the desired effect, and orders were sent to Sir William Drury, who was to command the enterprise, to be ready at a moment's notice for the march of the army and the transport of the artillery. This general had been in Edinburgh some weeks before the commencement of the siege on some real or feigned business, and had been imprudently allowed by Kirkaldy to visit him in the Castle, which enabled him to examine the defences and the points of attack. This accounts for the skill evinced by the besiegers in planting their batteries. Another offer of terms was made to the "Castilians," as Queen's Mary's party were now designated, by the Earl of Rothes: but it led to no result, and Kirkaldy and Maitland declared that, though deserted by every friend, they would retain the Fortress to the utmost extremity. As such was their determination, the English force under Sir William Drury, consisting of one thousand soldiers and three hundred pioneers, entered Edinburgh from Berwick on the 25th of April, 1573.⁴ They were joined by seven hundred soldiers of the Regent, and the English train arrived by sea at Leith about the same time. On the 17th of May the batteries were completed, and five pieces of artillery were placed on each. One was erected on the Castle-hill, opposite the outer fortification called the "Spur," a second battery was constructed in the now Greyfriars' churchyard, a third at the West Port, a fourth near the west end of

¹ Maitland of Lethington and Kirkaldy of Grange to the Earl of Huntly, 23d February, 1572-3.—MS. State-Paper Office, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 410, 411.

² Cecil is by this time known in English history as Lord Burghley. He was so created in 1571.

³ Killigrew to Cecil Lord Burghley, 9th March, 1572-3, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office: in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 411, 412.

⁴ A curious report of the Survey of the Castle and City of Edinburgh is given by Rowland Johnson and John Fleming, who describe themselves as "servants to the Queen's Majesty" (Elizabeth), by the com-

mand of Sir William Drury and Henry Killigrew, on the 27th of January, 1572-3.—MS. in the Cotton Library, British Museum, inserted in the "Journal of the Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh, 1573," in the Bannatyne Miscellany, 4to. Edin. 1836, vol. ii. pp. 69, 70, 71. It is stated that the "outer edge of the MS. is partially destroyed by fire," and several particulars are given of the internal state of the Fortress at the time. In an accompanying plan of this siege, inserted in the second volume of the Bannatyne Miscellany, the height of the Castle rock is exaggerated to 570 feet. The actual elevation is 383 feet above the level of the sea.

the present Princes Street, and a fifth on the north side of the North Loch, probably on the ground now occupied by the houses between Hanover Street and Frederick Street. Those batteries were designated from the names of their respective commanders, the King's Mount, Drury's Mount, Carey's Mount, Lee's Mount, and Sutton's Mount.¹

During these preparations many citizens left their houses, and removed for safety to Leith,² in consequence of which business was suspended, and considerable distress prevailed among all classes of the community. On the 30th of April, 1573, Morton assembled a parliament at Edinburgh, and a summons to surrender the Castle was sent to Kirkaldy in the names of the Regent and Sir William Drury. The operations for undermining the Spur, and the erection of the batteries, were scarcely interrupted by the garrison, who viewed the whole from the walls with apparent indifference. Maitland had acquired a complete ascendancy over Kirkaldy, and had thoroughly reasoned him into his own delusive conviction that succours would inevitably arrive from France. A number of the officers of the garrison, however, were willing to capitulate on advantageous terms, and thus prevent the disasters of a siege. They represented that their ammunition was rapidly exhausting, their provisions and water were almost consumed, and their distress was daily increasing. Of these facts Killigrew was thoroughly aware, and he wrote to Cecil on the 2d of May—"They within (the Castle) make good show, and fortify continually to frustrate the front battery,³ although the Regent and others here be of opinion that they will never abide the extremity. Their water will soon be taken from them, when the ordnance shall be laid both within and without. Hope of succours there is none, and therefore their obstinacy must needs be in vain. I send your Lordship the roll of their names within, both tag and rag, and, as I am informed, eighteen of the best of them would fain be out."⁴ But Kirkaldy was deaf to every remonstrance, and declared that sooner than yield he would keep the Fortress till he was buried amid its ruins.

This siege excited the most intense interest in England, and many young cavaliers came to Edinburgh to work as common soldiers in the trenches. One of those English cavaliers was Thomas Cecil, the eldest son of Elizabeth's celebrated minister.⁵ On the 17th of May, the day of the completion of the batteries, the then principal bastion, called David's Tower, was assailed, and the cannonade was answered by a loud and protracted shriek from the women in the Fortress, which was distinctly heard by the besiegers. Killigrew wrote to Cecil on the 17th—"This day, at one of the clock in the afternoon, some of our pieces began to speak such language as it made both them in the Castle, I am sure, think more of God than they did before, and all our men, and a great many others, think the enterprise not so hard as before they took it to be.—Thanks be to God, although it be longsome, it hath been hitherto with the least blood that ever was shed in such a case; and this conjecture we have to lead us, that they want store of powder within; for they have suffered us to plant all the ordnance, and to shoot yesterday all the afternoon without any harm from them."⁶ Killigrew mentions the alarm of the women in the Fortress—that "after the first fyre of ordnance great cries and shouts were made by the women of the Castle, terming the day and hour *black*."⁷ From the 17th till the 23d of May the English cannon incessantly played upon the fortifications; the guns of the garrison were silenced, and on the afternoon of the latter day the southern wall of David's Tower fell with a loud noise. On the following day the eastern portion of it, the portcullis, and an outer bastion known as the Well-House Tower, were beaten down, and on the 26th the Spur was stormed by the English with little resistance. Yet Kirkaldy defended himself with great bravery, and it is quaintly said of him that "he would not give over, but shot at them continually both with great

¹ "The first mount, allotted to the Regent, had the name of the *King's Mount*; the second, the General thereof of the English, Sir William Drurie, did possess; the third was in charge of Sir George Cairie; the fourth was called *Sir Henry Lee's Mount*; and the fifth fell to the government of Thomas Sutton, Master of the Ordnance in the north parts of England."—Thinne's Continuation of Holinshed, folio, London, 1586, vol. ii. p. 411. The English commanders were Sir William Drury, general of the forces; Sir Francis Russell, Knight; Mr. Henry Killigrew, English ambassador; Captains Reade, Erington, Pikeman, Gamm, Wood, Case, and Sturley, and Mr. Thomas Barton.—Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 79.

² Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 76.

³ This was the one erected at the Castle-hill to act against the outer fortification of the Spur.

⁴ Killigrew to Cecil Lord Burghley, 2d May, 1573, MS. Letter, State-Paper Office: in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 414.

⁵ The eldest son of Cecil, by Mary, daughter of Peter Cheke, Esq.,

and sister of Sir John Cheke. Thomas Cecil is described as a nobleman of great courage and unblemished probity, who in the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign was honoured with the Garter. He was created Earl of Exeter in 1605, and was the ancestor of the Marquesses of Exeter, so advanced in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, in the person of Henry tenth Earl, in 1801. The names of some of the others who served at the siege of "their own free-will," were Sir George Carey, Knight, Sir Henry Lee, Knight, Michael Carey, Henry Carey, Mr. Cotton, Mr. Kelway, Mr. Dyer, Mr. Tilney, Mr. William Killigrew, Mr. William Knolles, Mr. Thomas Sutton, Mr. William Selby, and "divers others."—Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 79, 80.

⁶ Killigrew to Cecil Lord Burghley, dated Edinburgh, 17th May, 1573, MS. State-Paper Office: in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 415.

⁷ Sir William Drury to Cecil, 18th May, 1573; in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 415.

shot and small, so that there was a very great slaughter among the English cannoneers, sundries of them having their legs and arms torn from their bodies in the air by the violence of the great shot."

A general assault was now prepared, and the Regent Morton, who had already decided the fate of Kirkaldy if he fell into his hands, was exulting in the near prospect of revenge, when the Governor appeared one evening on the fortifications with a white rod in his hand, and demanded an interview with Sir William Drury. The result, to the Regent's mortification, was a cessation of hostilities for two days preparatory to a surrender. A meeting was held between Kirkaldy and Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie on the part of the so-called Castillians, Killigrew and Drury for Queen Elizabeth, and Lord Boyd for the Regent Morton. They assembled near the battery erected in the Lawnmarket. Drury, after extolling Kirkaldy's bravery and gallant defence, earnestly advised him to surrender, to which he readily acquiesced, on the condition that he and his friends were guaranteed protection of their lives and fortunes from the revenge of the Regent. It is said that Drury would willingly have accepted the conditions, although he wrote to Cecil on the 28th of May—"I will not hearken unto the request of the Castillians further than the Regent and our ambassador shall allow of."¹ Morton, however, disdainfully rejected any terms of surrender. He declared that he was willing to allow the garrison to go where they pleased if they came out singly and without arms; but certain persons were to be excepted, and must submit themselves unconditionally until their fate was determined by the Queen of England, according to a recent treaty. These were Kirkaldy himself, Maitland of Lethington, Lord Home, Robert Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie, who was a brother of Sir James Melville, and four others.

As it was too evident that Morton was determined to sacrifice the leaders of the garrison to his vengeance, they refused his terms, and declared their resolution to hold out to the last extremity. But Kirkaldy's soldiers now began to mutiny, threatened to hang Maitland over the walls within six hours if he did not advise their commander to surrender, and even announced their intention of delivering Kirkaldy and his companions to the Regent. Among their other privations they suffered greatly for want of water. "Their draw-well," says Sir James Melville, whose two brothers, Sir Robert and Andrew Melville, were in the Fortress, "dried by the drouthy summer; and they had no other water but such as they fetched, letting men with cords down over the walls and crag of the Castle to a well on the west side, which was afterwards poisoned, wherethrow as many as escaped the shot died, and the rest fell deadly sick."² At length Kirkaldy was compelled to surrender, which he did on the 29th of May, after a determined resistance of thirty-three days. Two companies of the English forces were admitted within the walls on the evening of that day, and on the following morning Kirkaldy and his companions expressly stated that they submitted to the Queen of England and her general, Sir William Drury, and not to Morton as Regent of Scotland. They were in consequence conveyed to Drury's quarters, and, notwithstanding Morton's remonstrances, were treated with courtesy. In addition to the cogent reasons assigned for the surrender,³ the demolition of the Spur and of David's Tower made the Fortress altogether untenable.⁴

The result of this siege had been all along predicted by John Knox.⁵ So confident, indeed, was he of such

¹ MS. Letter, State-Paper Office; quoted in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 146.

² Sir James Melville's Memoirs, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1827, pp. 253, 254.

³ The alleged causes of surrender were the following:—"First, for that they were deprived of water, because the well within the Castle was choked with the ruins of the Castle walls, and the other well could not serve them because there was a mount made to hinder them; another water there was, which was unknown to such as were without the Castle, and was taken from them by the loss of the Spur, out of which they were wont to have a pint a day to every soldier: secondly, divers persons were sick, especially through drink of the water of St. Margaret's well, without the Castle on the north side, which had been poisoned by some of their enemies: thirdlie, divers were hurt: fourthlie, not many to mainteine the Castell, and they were not able to take any rest, being so plied and dailie wearied with batterrie: fifthlie, divers of the souldiers divided in opinion: sixthlie, some were no soldiers at all: seventhlie, that no aid was to be looked for by way of France. The eighth and chief cause was, that the Regent and his forces were planted in the strenghts round about, and the horsemen dailie and

nightlie watching and riding, which held and took from them all vittels, and had brought them to great scant of food before the siege began."—Thinne's Continuation of Holinshed, *apud* "Journal of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1573," in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78.

⁴ The Journal of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1573, repeatedly cited, is supposed to have been communicated to the original edition of Holinshed's Chronicles, printed in 1577, by Thomas Churchyard, the English poet, and that account is different from the narrative in the enlarged edition of the work published in 1586. Churchyard wrote a metrical account of the siege of Edinburgh Castle, in his volume of "Chippes concerning Scotland," 4to. London, 1575, republished, with Historical Notices and Life of the Author, by George Chalmers, 8vo. London, 1817. An effusion on the same subject by Robert Sempill of Beltrees, the Scottish poet, was "imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprevik," in 1573, reprinted in Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Century, edited by Sir John Graham Dalyell, Bart. 12mo. Edin. 1801; and in a separate tract by David Constable, Esq. 4to. London, 1813.

⁵ In his last "Will and Legacie," which Knox made on the 13th of March, 1572, upwards of six months before his death, which occurred

a termination, that he frequently announced it in his sermons and conversations. Among his other vehement denunciations when at St. Andrews in 1572, for which some designated him a "rash railer," he declared that the Fortress would "run like a sand-glass"—that it would "spew out the Captain with shame"—and that he would not come out "at the gate, but over the walls." Principal Hamilton of St. Mary's College expressed some doubt whether these gloomy predictions would be realized, and challenged Knox to produce his "warrant" for such threatenings. "God is my warrant," replied Knox, "and ye shall see it;" a prophecy which he repeated in his next sermon publicly in the presence of the Principal, declaring—"Thou that wilt not believe my warrant shall see it with thy eyes that day, and shall say, 'What have I to do here?'" The Principal happened to be in Edinburgh immediately after the surrender of the Fortress, and was attracted by curiosity to the Castle-hill, accompanied by his servant. They saw the "forewark" of the Castle—probably the Spur, and David's Tower—"all demolished, and running like a sand-brae." The garrison were drawn out, and Sir William Kirkaldy was obliged to extricate himself from the shattered defences by a ladder. The pressure of the crowd was so great that Principal Hamilton was glad to extricate himself, exclaiming—"What have I to do here?" When returning from the confusion, his servant reminded him of Knox's reiterated statements as to the result of the siege when at St. Andrews, and we are told that the learned Principal was "compellit to glorifie God, and say that he (Knox) was a true prophet."¹

Few persons comparatively were killed or wounded during this siege, notwithstanding its long continuance, and this fortunate circumstance is quaintly explained by a contemporary historian as follows:—"The cause whereof grew by reason of three traverses made overthwart the streets to save the people, besides the other trenches made against the Castle; at which time also the Tolbooth and the Church (of St. Giles) were fenced with a rampart formed of turfs, fagots, and other stuff fit for that purpose, whereby the Lords of the Parliament did as safely assemble, and sit in the Tolbooth, and the people went as quietly and safely to the Church to hear Divine service, as they at any time did before the wars began, and before the Castle was besieged."² According to the "Journal of the Siege," the prisoners made were Kirkaldy and his wife, Alexander fifth Lord Home, the Countess of Argyll,³ Maitland of Lethington and his wife, and the "Laird of Pittadrow," or "Peterroe,"⁴ who is styled Constable of the Castle. Kirkaldy's brother was already in the Regent Morton's custody, and Sir Robert and Andrew Melville were in the garrison. The English must have considered this siege, which at the present day would not have occupied a few hours, as a most extraordinary proof of their skill and perseverance.⁵ Sir William Drury wrote to Lord Burghley, dated Leith, 5th June, 1573—"By a computation there hath been near three thousand great shot bestowed against the Castle in this service, and the bullets of all or the most part recovered, and brought again, part by our own labours, and part by the Scots, (we) paying to the Scottish people a piece of their own coin called a bawbee for every bullet, which is in value English one penny and a quarter."⁶

The Regent Morton constituted George Douglas of Parkhead governor of the Castle,⁷ and immediately

on the 23d of November, he thus expresses himself,—"But hereof I am assurit by Him who nather can dissave nor be dissavit, that the Castell of Edinbrucht, in the quhilk all the murthour, all the trublie, and the baill destruction of this pair commonweil was inventit, and, as our own eyes may witness, by them and their mantenaris was put in execution, sall come to destruction, mantene it quha list—the destruction of body and saul, I say, except they repent."—The last "Will and Legacie" of John Knox, in the "Memoriales" of Richard Bannatyne, his Secretary, 4to. Edin. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 370.

¹ Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville, printed for the WODROW SOCIETY, pp. 33, 34.

² Thinne's Continuation of Holinshed, edit. 1586, vol. ii. p. 411.

³ This lady was probably Joan or Janet, daughter of Alexander fifth Earl of Glencairn, the second countess of Archibald fifth Earl of Argyll.

⁴ This was a gentleman named Henry Echlin, whose brother, Patrick Echlin, was also in the Fortress. In 1581 the Laird of Pittadrow received a "benefit of pacification," which was ratified by the Parliament held at Edinburgh that year.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 185.

⁵ We are told—"Thus, by the valiant prowess and worthy policy of Sir William Drury, our Queen's Majesty's general, and other the cap-

tains and soldiers under his charge, was that Castle of Edinburgh won, as before ye have heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; insomuch as many thought it took the name of the Maiden Castle for that it had not been won at any time before except by famine or practice; but such is the force of the cannon of this age, that no fortress, be it ever so strong, is able of itself to resist the puissances thereof, if the situation be of that nature as the ground about it will serve to convey the great artillery to be planted in battery against it."—Journal of the Siege of Edinburgh Castle, 1573, in the Bannatyne Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 78.

⁶ MS. Letter, State-Paper Office: in Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 420.

⁷ Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 333. This George Douglas is there styled Morton's brother-in-law, and another contemporary writer calls him the Regent's brother.—Historie and Life of King James the Sext, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 145. Nevertheless an "Archibald Douglas" is also mentioned as "Constable of the Castle," in December, 1573.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. p. 513; and he is specified as such in the forfeiture of Archibald eighth Earl of Angus, nephew of the Regent Morton, in 1581.—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 203.

began the repair of the fortifications.¹ Meanwhile he was not unmindful of Kirkaldy and his fellow-prisoners, who had been carried to the quarters of Sir William Drury, and received with courtesy, as we have seen, in defiance of the Regent's remonstrances. But Morton was resolved not to be deprived of his revenge. He wrote to Cecil, warning him that the leaders of all the existing disorders were unconditionally in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, entreating the Queen's instant decision on their fate, and requesting that they should be delivered to him to be punished for their crimes. Kirkaldy and Maitland were aware of their dangerous situation, and on the 1st of June they addressed a letter to Cecil, relying on the former intimate friendship between him and them, and imploring his interest with Elizabeth to preserve them from the Regent's vengeance.² Elizabeth affected to delay, and requested information to be sent to her of the alleged crimes of Kirkaldy and his fellow-prisoners; but the Regent, supported by Killigrew, so earnestly urged their execution, that the English Queen commanded them to be transferred to the custody of the former. Maitland avoided a public ignominious death by poisoning himself at Leith, as was reported, before Elizabeth's final order arrived, though this was contradicted by many, who denounced it as an invention of his enemies. Lord Home, Sir William Kirkaldy, John Maitland, a younger brother of Maitland, Sir Robert Melville, and others, were accordingly consigned to the tender mercies of the Regent. The greatest interest was exerted to save the life of Kirkaldy. One hundred of his friends and kinsmen offered to become perpetual sureties to the families of Angus and Morton in a "bond of manrent," and to pay 2000*l.* to the Regent, exclusive of an annuity of three thousand marks, if he would pardon his intended victim; but although his avarice was notorious, he was compelled to resist the temptation, as he stated in a letter to Killigrew, by the denunciations of the preachers, who recollected the predictions of John Knox, and vehemently asserted that the Divine vengeance would never cease till the land was purged with blood. They were resolved that the prophecy of John Knox should be literally fulfilled, and they were not disappointed. On the 3d of August, Kirkaldy and his brother were brought from Holyrood to the Cross, and hanged in presence of an immense crowd of spectators. They were attended by Mr. David Lindsay, minister of Leith, whose consolations were received by the unfortunate Knight of Grange with gratitude and contrition,³ and their heads were spiked on the fortifications of the Castle. Two citizens of Edinburgh, named James Mossman and James Cock, described as "goldsmiths," shared their fate. Those persons had been evidently connected with the rival mint in the Castle, the money of which had been declared illegal by the Regent Morton, as we find a James Fleming prosecuted in the High Court of Justiciary, on the 4th of February, 1572-3, for "furnishing the rebels within the Castle of Edinburgh with a great quantity of wine, flesh, fish, salt, and other victuals, and receiving from them false and adulterate money, or counterfeit cunzie, and passing thereof among the lieges."⁴ Several burgesses of Edinburgh were tried for "assisting the rebels in the town and Castle of Edinburgh" during this siege. Due honour was subsequently awarded to the memory of the gallant Knight of Grange. Sir James Melville informs us that as soon as King James VI. came to "perfect age, and understood how matters had gone in his minority, he caused to restore the heirs of the Laird of Grange, who, he said, was put to death contrary to the appointment made with the governor of Berwick, Sir William Drury; and also ordered his bones to be taken up, and buried honourably in the ancient place of his predecessors at Kinghorn."

On the 12th of September, 1577, the Earl of Morton resigned the regency to James VI., then only in the twelfth year of his age, at Stirling. By the advice of the Earls of Atholl and Argyll, the Regent's demission of the government was accepted, and the event was soon announced to the citizens of Edinburgh by the Lord Lyon-king-at-arms, assisted by twelve heralds. In reply to the very natural observation of the King, on this occasion, that he considered himself too young to undertake the government, and that he knew not indeed where to find a secure place of residence, Morton replied, that "his Majesty wald be weill lodgit in the Castell of Edinburgh, als weill for the gude situation of the house, the pleasant sycht of the fields, the sycht of the sea, and frequencie of ships." This flattering representation to a youth to induce him to change his residence was sagaciously met by the King, who observed that he would "gladly condescend to that change

¹ We are told that Morton "causit maissons begin to red the bruisit walls, and repayrit the forewark to the forme of a bulwark, plat and brayd abone, for the ressett and rying of many cannons."—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, p. 145.

² Kirkaldy and Maitland to Cecil Lord Burghley, MS. Letter,

British Museum, Caligula, C. IV. fol. 86: in Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 419, 420.

³ *Autobiography and Diary of Mr. James Melville*, printed for the Wodrow Society, pp. 35, 36; *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, p. 335; *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, p. 145.

⁴ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II, p. 40.

providing that his present keepers should have the maintenance of that Castle." The ex-Regent accordingly received a legal "discharge" for Edinburgh Castle on the 12th of June, 1578, exonerating him and his heirs from all liabilities for the Fortress, and "all and sundry the jewels, plenishing of his Majesty's houses, clothings, artillery, and munition, pertaining to his Highness." James VI., young as he was, having fully assumed the government on this resignation of Morton, summoned the Castle, which was still held by the ex-Regent's adherents, to surrender; on which we are told that "the keepers made obstacle, and intended to fortify the same; but within a few days thereafter, the Castle was rendered to William Erskine, parson of Campsie,¹ by the King's own command and commission, and an inventory was taken of all the princely goods and jewels therein pertaining to the King's predecessors, according to an old inventory."² In March 1578, a curious catalogue of the books belonging to Queen Mary in the Castle was delivered to James VI. at Stirling Castle; also an inventory along with it, of the "joweilis, plenissings, artaillerie, and munitioun, being within the Castell of Edinburgh, pertening to our Soverane Lord and his Hienis' derrest inoder." The list enumerates the books saved from the wreck of the Royal Library of Scotland in the reign of Queen Mary.³

James VI. made his public entry into Edinburgh, in the end of September 1579, by the West Port, passing through the Grassmarket, and arriving at the Palace of Holyrood by the West Bow, Lawnmarket, High Street, and the Canongate, amid great pomp, firing of the Castle artillery, and loud acclamations of "Welcome to the King!"⁴ The Castle was an occasional residence of James after he assumed the government, but it was still for the most part used as a state prison; and one of its most conspicuous inmates at this time was Francis Stuart, the turbulent Earl of Bothwell,⁵ who considered it expedient to "enter into ward," or else was committed a prisoner to the Fortress, in 1590, on a curious charge of conspiring the death of the King, by the assistance of some East Lothian witches, during his matrimonial expedition to Denmark. Bothwell, however, soon became tired of restraint, and succeeded in escaping by the agency of a gentleman named Lauder, who happened to be the captain of the watch, and who fled with him. This revived the former prosecution, and on the 25th of June, 1591, sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against him at the Cross of Edinburgh, though he was subsequently acquitted of the charge of witchcraft. His chief partisans at one period were the Earls of Angus⁶ and Argyll, Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch his stepson, Sir William Stewart of Houston, and Sir James Johnstone of Johnstone, afterwards noticed. The two Earls and Sir James Johnstone were apprehended and committed to the Castle, from which they contrived to "break ward," and escaped. On the 19th of January, 1590-1, Angus M'Connell, or Macdonald, of Dunyveg in Isla, and Lachlan Maclean of Duart, were prosecuted, in their absence, for high treason, murder, fire-raising, oppression, and other crimes, before the High Court of Justiciary, and were ordered to be imprisoned in the Castle "until his Majestie's will should be declared."⁷ Donald Gorm Macdonald⁸ of Sleat, in the island of Skye, was also committed to the Fortress.

About this period, and for some time afterwards, the Castle received several important state prisoners connected with the confederacy known as the "Spanish Blanks."⁹ George fourth Earl of Huntly, one of the prominent leaders in the plot, was imprisoned there; but his confinement was almost nominal, for the King visited and dined with him, permitted his Countess¹⁰ and servants to have free access to him, and sent to him

¹ This military parson of Campsie, a parish in Stirlingshire, about ten miles north of Glasgow, was for nearly two years, from 1585 to 1587, titular Archbishop of Glasgow, though he was never in holy orders. He was a relative of the Earl of Mar.

² *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, 4to. printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 164, 165.

³ See this list, or catalogue, in the *Miscellany of the Maitland Club*, printed for the Club, 4to. Edin. 1833, Part I. pp. 3-12.

⁴ *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, pp. 178, 179.

⁵ Elder son of Lord John Stuart, Prior of Coldingham, an illegitimate son of James V. and Lady Jane Hepburn, daughter of Patrick third Earl of Bothwell, and sister of James fourth and last Earl of Bothwell, of the surname of Hepburn, notorious as the murderer of Lord Darnley, and the chief cause of Queen Mary's misfortunes. This Francis Stuart, who was consequently Bothwell's nephew, was created Earl of Bothwell by James VI. in 1587. He is more prominently noticed in the *History of the palace of Holyrood* in the present work.

⁶ William tenth Earl of Angus, son of William ninth Earl and his

Countess Egida, daughter of Sir Robert Graham of Morphie, succeeded his father, in 1591.

⁷ *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. pp. 224-230.

⁸ Donald Macdonald of Sleat, commonly called *Gorm*, was the ancestor of Lord Macdonald of Sleat, in the Peerage of Ireland, created in 1776, in the person of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, Bart., whose descendants are the Lords Macdonald, and their Scottish seat Armadale, in the island of Skye.

⁹ This affair of the "*Spanish Blanks*" had probably its origin, or was partly caused, by a singular document which Queen Mary signed a short time before her execution. At this period, having relinquished all hope of her son James VI. supporting the Roman Catholic religion, Mary bequeathed her interest in the succession to the English crown to Philip II. of Spain, who had married the English Queen Mary, the sister and predecessor of Queen Elizabeth. This act of the Scottish Queen was utterly impotent, but it sufficiently evinced her will, and may partly explain the cruel treatment of her by Elizabeth.

¹⁰ Lady Henrietta Stuart, eldest daughter of Esme first Duke of Lennox.

merely an affectionate remonstrance.¹ Huntly's solemn assertions of his innocence, indeed, soon procured his release, but the royal forgiveness was abused by his speedy appearance in open rebellion in concert with the restless Earl of Bothwell. Colonel William Sempill, designated Captain Sempill, an active intriguer in the Spanish affair, was also committed to the Castle. These intrigues of the Roman Catholic nobility of Scotland with Spain continued for several years, and some others of them were committed state prisoners to the Fortress. Among those were Francis eighth Earl of Errol,² William tenth Earl of Angus,³ a gentleman named George Ker,⁴ and Sir David Graham of Fintry. Angus contrived, like so many others confined in the Castle about the same period, to effect his escape.

In 1603, numbers of the Clan Macgregor were sent prisoners to the Fortress for their concern in the fatal conflict between that clan and the Colquhouns, known as the "Field of the Lennox," or the "Raid of Glenfruite." This sanguinary affair, the ebullition of former feuds between the two clans, occurred early in February 1602-3.

In 1609, Sir James Elphinstone, some time Secretary of State for Scotland, and Lord President of the Court of Session, created Lord Balmerino in 1603, was committed a prisoner to the Castle on the charge of treasonably corresponding with Pope Clement VIII. in the King's name. Lord Balmerino was conveyed to Leith on the 5th of December, and removed to the Fortress, whence he was taken to Falkland in Fife, brought to trial at St. Andrews on the 10th of March, 1609, pleaded guilty, and was ordered to be detained a prisoner in Falkland till the King's pleasure was known, with a significant intimation that he might as well prepare for the worst.⁵ While the prosecution of Lord Balmerino was in progress, John seventh Lord Maxwell and Sir James Macdonald of Isla⁶ were prisoners in the Castle, the former for the murder of Sir James Johnstone, chief of the Johnstones, and the latter for misdemeanours in Argyshire and the Isles. During their imprisonment an intimacy was formed between these gentlemen, and they determined together to achieve their liberty. For this purpose Lord Maxwell convened several of the guards in the apartment of Sir James Macdonald, and after an intoxicating carousal locked them up in the room. Both he and Macdonald, though the latter was trammelled by his fetters, accompanied by Robert Maxwell of the Tower, then violently assaulted the keepers of the gates, leaving for dead the warder of the inner gate and his wife. So far they had succeeded; but one of the soldiers now gave the alarm from a window of the Fortress on the south side, looking towards the West Port, which roused the inhabitants of that locality. Lord Maxwell escaped,⁷ and Sir James Macdonald also got out of the Castle, but he injured himself by scaling a wall on the south side of the Castle-hill, and was finally arrested by some of the denizens of the West Port. He had crept to a dunghill, in which he

¹ MS. Letter, State-Paper Office, Ashley to Lord Burghley, dated Edinburgh, the 10th and 14th of March, 1588-9, cited in Tytler's History of Scotland, small edition, vol. ix. p. 24.

² Second son of Andrew seventh Earl of Errol, by his relative Lady Jane Hay, daughter of William fifth Earl. Alexander, the eldest son, died before his father.

³ Already mentioned as the eldest son of Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie, great-grandson of Sir William Douglas, second son of William fifth Earl of Angus. Sir William Douglas of Glenbervie became ninth Earl of Angus at the death of Archibald eighth Earl in 1588, and was succeeded, at his death in July, 1591, by his eldest son William tenth Earl.

⁴ Birrell's Diary, p. 29. Mr. George Ker, or Car, is described as "Doctor of the Laws," and was the first who withstood a compulsory edict of the General Assembly in 1592, that all persons in Scotland should embrace the Reformed religion under penalty of excommunication and forfeiture of goods. He is alleged to have been the agent of the Spanish Blanks.

⁵ Lord Balmerino was again taken from Falkland to Edinburgh Castle, and at Leith, on the 1st of April, was received by an armed guard in the pay of the city of Edinburgh. His lordship entered the city on horseback by Leith Wynd, and when in that alley, or near the head of it, at the Nether-Bow gate, he was ordered to dismount, under the pretence that they "received no riding prisoners;" but he alleged that he was unable to walk by "the infirmities of gout in his feet," and requested permission to ride. A citizen upon this called out to him—"Pamfara! tantarra! my lord?"—a retort which must have annoyed the fallen courtier not a little, being the repetition of a contemptuous

phrase of his own, equivalent to "Nonsense! nonsense!" which he had made use of, some years before, to the Town-Council of the city. He was accordingly compelled to dismount, and walk to the Castle. About mid-day he was conveyed from the Fortress to the Tolbooth by warrant from the King, when he was sentenced to be beheaded and quartered at "his place of execution," his estates forfeited, and his family attainted. He was conducted after dinner from the Tolbooth, by the High Street and Nether-Bow gate, to the foot of Leith Wynd, where he was delivered into the custody of the sheriff of the county. An immense crowd assembled on the streets, and were astonished that he was still permitted to carry his sword, which was undoubtedly a very unusual indulgence to a condemned traitor, and induced some to conclude that he was in no danger, notwithstanding the doom pronounced against him, while others supposed that he was to be executed at Falkland. Eventually the King issued a warrant allowing his lordship "free ward" in Falkland Palace, and within a mile round, on finding security to the amount of 40,000*l.* Scots. After enduring this nominal restraint for a short period, he was permitted to retire to his own estate of Balmerino on the south side of the Tay, where he lived in seclusion, and died of a broken heart in 1612.

⁶ Sir James Macdonald was the son of Angus McConnel or Macdonald of Dunyveg in Isla, and the nephew of Lachlan Maclean of Duart, mentioned in the preceding page.

⁷ Lord Maxwell continued in exile till 1612, when he returned to Scotland, and was betrayed by his relative George fifth Earl of Caithness, who delivered him up at the command of the Privy Council, and he was beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh on the 21st of May, 1613.

had covered himself to avoid detection; and being found in this unenviable condition, was re-conveyed to his former quarters. He was eventually tried on the 13th of May, 1609, found guilty of the crimes libelled, sentenced to be beheaded, and all his property forfeited;¹ but neither the day nor the place of execution was specified, and he was taken back from the Tolbooth to the Castle, to remain during the King's pleasure. After a long imprisonment, he at last escaped out of the Fortress by the contrivance of his cousin, named MacRanald, and they both fled to Spain, where they were well received.

In 1616 the Fortress was thoroughly repaired, and part of the edifices probably rebuilt, under the superintendence of Sir Gideon Murray, Treasurer-Depute of Scotland. This repair is commemorated by the carved date, 1616, on the third floor of the turnpike stair, on the north gable of the east side of the quadrangle, entering from the Half-Moon Battery. Sir Robert Melville of Murdocairnie, created Lord Melville of Monimail that year, second son of Sir John Melville of Raith, states to King James, in a letter dated April 1616, that the "Castell of Edinburgh was weil orderit," evidently in reference to the projected visit of the King to Scotland, and he forgets not to enlarge on the loyalty and peaceable conduct of the people.²

King James in 1617 accomplished his projected visit to Scotland, and he entered Edinburgh on the 16th of May, amid the discharge of artillery from the Castle. The author of a curious and bitter satire, entitled "A Description of Scotland,"³ maliciously conjectures that the King must have presented the cannons to the Fortress "since he was king of England." On the 19th of June the royal birthday was celebrated in the Castle, which was visited on the occasion by the King, at whose entrance into the Fortress a speech in Hebrew was delivered by Andrew Ker, described as "a boy of nine years of age," and several short Latin poems were afterwards presented. This was apparently the only visit of the King to the Fortress while he was in Edinburgh, and the last time he was within the walls of his birthplace.

For several years after this, few notices occur of the Fortress, till 1633, when it was the scene of part of the festivities attending the coronation of Charles I., which was solemnized in the Chapel-royal of Holyrood. On the 15th of June the King proceeded to Edinburgh from the then Castle of Dalkeith,⁴ in which he had passed the previous night. On Monday the 17th, the day before the coronation, the King went privately in his coach from Holyrood to the Castle, and was entertained by the Earl of Mar, then governor, many of the Scottish and English nobility participating in the banquet. Charles slept that night in the Fortress, and in the morning prepared for the ceremonial of the day. On this occasion a cavalcade, "as splendid as ever graced any pageant," proceeded from the Castle to the Palace, of which Sir James Balfour, who was present as Lord Lyon-king-at-arms, has left an interesting account.⁵

A serious affair occurred in 1634, which further tended to widen the breach already begun between the King and the Presbyterian portion of his Scottish subjects. This was the committal to the Castle of James second Lord Balmerino, who was brought to the bar in November of that year. The trial, however, on the charge of "art and part of the penning and setting down of a scandalous libel, and divulging and dispersing it among his majesty's lieges," was delayed till the 20th of March, 1635, when Lord Balmerino was again placed at the bar. Eight of the jury returned a verdict of guilty, and Balmerino was sentenced to be beheaded when the King chose to order the execution. This sentence, however, was not carried into effect, but his lordship was confined in the Castle for thirteen months, and was only liberated on condition that he should reside within certain bounds.

In 1640, the war between Charles I. and the Covenanters was commenced in earnest, and the Scottish Parliament granted "ratifications" to the military officers who were to command the Covenanting army.⁶ It was now resolved by the triumphant leaders of the Covenant, to obtain possession of Edinburgh Castle, and the Parliament of 1640, on the 1st of June, passed a "decreet and declarator of treason" against General Ruthven, the governor, who had been created Lord Ruthven of Ettrick in 1639, and "remanent under

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 5-10.

² Letters and State Papers during the reign of James VI., from the MS. Collection of Sir James Balfour of Denmyln, Bart., printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. Edinburgh, 1838, pp. 393, 394.

³ Preserved in the Harleian MSS. No. 5191, and printed in Nichols' "Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First," 4to. London, 1828, vol. iii. pp. 338-343. It was written by Sir Anthony Weldon.

⁴ The Castle of Dalkeith occupied the site of the present Dalkeith House.

⁵ Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 386-388.

⁶ Sir Alexander Leslie of Balgonie in Fife, created Earl of Leven and Lord Balgonie in 1641, was constituted "general of all the Scottish forces serving for the common cause, as weil horse as foote." All his proceedings in 1639 were specially approved in the most complimentary manner.

commanders" in the Fortress, who were summoned to surrender within twenty-four hours. This siege is a curious event in the history of the Fortress. Generals Ruthven and Leslie, who had been comrades in the wars of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, were the commanders of the contending parties. The former officer, Lord Ruthven of Ettrick, had attained the rank of lieutenant-general in the Swedish service, and was greatly esteemed by Gustavus Adolphus for two very different qualifications. He not only always behaved gallantly in the field, but he was so renowned for drinking, that when Gustavus entertained any officers for the purpose of obtaining secret information from them, he constituted General Ruthven "field-marshal," as he called him, of the bottles and glasses, because he could drink an enormous quantity, and yet be very little affected.¹

Lord Ruthven, or General Ruthven, by which title he is better known, returned a contemptuous answer to the summons to surrender, and the siege of the Fortress commenced. About this time another invasion of England was projected by the Covenanters, and old General Leslie had collected their forces near Berwick; but he now returned to the siege of Edinburgh Castle, delegating the principal command to his major-general, the celebrated David Leslie.² Four batteries were erected,³ the first mounted with six twenty-four pounders; the second had as many guns which were smaller; the third had seven large guns, but very inefficient; and the fourth had eight from thirty-six to forty pounders. The port-holes of this battery were constructed of wood, the breast-work of great thickness, and the flooring on which the guns moved of strong timber. Behind the battery was a trench nearly four feet broad, which was filled with water, obtained with great difficulty and hazard. As to the Spur, we are told that it "took up the greater part of the Castle-hill to little purpose, seeing it added no strength to the Castle, but put them that were within to the charges of a greater number of men than was needful to defend so strong a hold."⁴ This was well known to General Leslie; and his object in erecting the battery on the Castle-hill was to compel the garrison to surrender for want of provisions.

During the erection of the batteries, two of which were altogether useless, and the third in the Greyfriars' burying-ground, only in part advantageous to dismount a few guns on the Half-Moon Battery of the Fortress, General Ruthven kept up a constant fire on the besiegers, several of whom were killed; but they succeeded in the erection of their works, and opened a fire on the Fortress, which Ruthven returned with double the number of shot. The main design of both parties at first was to dismount each other's artillery, or at least to make them useless, before the fortifications were attacked. After continuing the siege in a desultory manner for some days, and finding every attempt to batter the walls unavailing, it was resolved to gain possession of the Spur by a mine on the Castle-hill. This was commenced, under the superintendence of Major James Somerville of Drum, on the site of the present water reservoir opposite that part of the rock by which an ascent could with some difficulty be effected.

The garrison, in the meantime, made several sallies upon the besiegers, one of which was occasioned by the following curious incident. Some sheep, having escaped from their drivers or owners in the Grassmarket early one morning, ran up a steep narrow alley called the Castle Wynd leading to the esplanade, and reached the north bank. When the garrison observed the sheep, before the animals were seen by the besiegers, they sallied through a gate in the wall of the spur opening towards the then North Loch, to secure them for provisions. The besiegers seized their arms, and a singular encounter ensued, which attracted a number of spectators, and after an hour's fight, upwards of forty men were killed, and many more wounded;

Colonel Munro, a Scottish officer in the Swedish service, author of a quaint and curious narrative, entitled "*Munro's Expedition*," relates, that after the battle of Leipsic he entered the apartment in which Gustavus Adolphus and the Duke of Saxony were carousing. "Being seen by his Majesty," says Colonel Munro, "I was presently kindly embraced by holding his arm over my shoulder, wishing I could bear as much drink as old Major-General Ruthven, that I might help his Majesty to make his guests happy." Another version of this story is as follows:—Gustavus was remarkably abstemious, and the Elector of Saxony was fond of the pleasures of the table. Some minutes before supper, Colonel Munro entered the room out of curiosity; when the King, who detested drinking, took him by the shoulder, and whispered—"I wish, Munro, you could be master of the bottles and glasses to-night, in the absence of Old Major-General Sir Patrick Ruthven; but you want a strength of head to relieve me on such an occasion, and make your way through an undertaking of so extra-

ordinary a nature."—Harte's *History of the Life of Gustavus Adolphus*, King of Sweden, 4to. London, 1759, vol. i. p. 420.

² Afterwards created Lord Newark, near St. Monance in Fife, by Charles II. in 1661, though his Cavalier enemies often wittily annoyed him by alleging, that he ought rather to have been hanged for his *auld wark*.

³ One near the north-west side of the Greyfriars' burying-ground; the second a short distance from the then St. Cuthbert's Church, on the site of the present Queensferry Street; the third on the north side of the then North Loch, probably on the ground now occupied by Hanover Street; and the fourth was on the north side of the street on the Castle-hill, within sixty paces of the outer fortification or ravelin called the Spur, already mentioned.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Somervilles*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, 8vo. Edin. 1815, vol. ii. p. 224.

the garrison, however, so far having the best of it, that they secured thirty of the contested prize. A truce was then concluded until the dead bodies should be removed; "and thus," it is quaintly observed, "ended the sheep skirmish with the loss of so many men."¹

The power of the artillery of the Fortress exceeded the expectations of the besiegers, and one incident is recorded by Lord Somerville, who was an eye-witness, though then only eight years of age. One morning two chief cannoniers, who had been brought from the Continent by the Covenanters to serve in the war, discharged the artillery of the Castle-hill battery to so little purpose, that Major Somerville ironically taunted them for missing not only the Castle, but the entire rock. They replied that they would "make amends presently by a notable shot." They pointed out to him through the embrasure a large cannon on the Half-Moon Battery, and told him they would dismount it by the first shot, or forfeit a month's pay. The Major said that he was willing to give them double the amount if they pleased. Preparations were accordingly commenced, but while they were stooping on the "butt end" of the cannon to make their aim sure, a ball from the Castle shattered them in pieces. The same shot struck a stone gable behind the battery, a piece of which wounded Major Somerville on the right cheek. Another shot is particularly mentioned in the old accounts of the siege, and the incident excites surprise that more serious mischief was not done in the town during the contest. Major Somerville had invited some of the principal Covenanting officers to dine with him in his quarters on the Castle-hill; and while the party were sitting at dinner a ball passed through the wall of the house, entered the kitchen, where it severely wounded a female servant engaged in basting veal before the fire, and went out at the front stair. The poor girl's wound happily, though very serious, was not fatal.

The besiegers now directed their sole attention to the mining of the Spur. General Leslie held a council of war, which was attended by a Committee of the Estates, and Lord Somerville sarcastically remarks that it was a wonder that none of the preachers were present. After a long discussion it was at last resolved that the mode of assault was to be left to the prudence and skill of the party employed in the enterprise. The hazardous duty was undertaken by Major Somerville, who requested General Leslie to allow him to appoint Captain Waddell of Langside, one of his own officers, to lead the reserve—that during the assault by storm all firing of guns and small shot from the batteries should cease, lest his party should suffer as much loss from their friends as from their enemies—and that forty pioneers with shovels and mattocks should attend him, and be at his disposal in the time of action.²

These requests were granted, and Major Somerville made his preparations for this mad project, which, his relative Lord Somerville justly says, was "as foolish an enterprise as could be attempted by rational men, and so acknowledged by themselves when it was over." The Major selected two hundred and fifty men from the two regiments, each of which was upwards of one thousand strong, and they were marched to the trenches, one party under his own command, and the other under Captain Waddell, whom he enjoined not to move till he saw him and his party pass the breach, and then the Captain was to lead on his men as a reserve, and be ready for action as occasion offered. Somerville provided a dozen of ladders ten or twelve steps high, to be useful either within or without the breach; and he ordered the artillery on the battery to be discharged into the breach immediately at the explosion of the mine, when they saw the result. He then wrote a few lines to his wife, who, with his family, was at Gilmerton, a village nearly four miles south of Edinburgh, and waited the springing of the mine at daybreak. About an hour before the explosion, the garrison sentinels on the Spur announced that they heard an unusual noise within the trenches. This was intimated to the officer of the outer guard, and by him to the captain of the main-guard, who informed General Ruthven. The General was instantly on the spot, and, listening attentively, he was convinced that something was in progress. He removed six pieces of artillery from the Spur, and enjoined all the sentinels and out-guards to retire at daybreak, and to remain within the second gate of the Fortress till further orders. This simple manœuvre completely frustrated the designs of the Covenanters, though they were ignorant of it till it was too late. General Ruthven then went up above the third gate of the Fortress, probably to the present Bomb Battery, and watched the operations of the besiegers. In a few minutes he saw the Spur enveloped in flames after a loud and appalling explosion, which was succeeded by a peal of artillery and small shot. As soon as the explosion had been effected, by which a great portion of the south-east wall of the Spur was carried towards the North

¹ *Memorie of the Somervilles*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, 8vo. Edin. 1815, vol. ii. pp. 231, 232.

² *Ibid.* pp. 240-243.

Loch, Major Somerville and his party hastened to the breach in the midst of the smoke and dust, avoiding as much as possible the small shot of the garrison; but they found that the earthen embankment of the Spur was nearly two fathoms high, thus retarding their projected entrance of the second gate with the garrison soldiers. Major Somerville's men were now exposed to a most destructive fire, every discharge of musketry killing several of them, and their commander being severely wounded. Covered with blood and dust, he at last retired by command of General Leslie, taking advantage of an interval betwixt the showers of musketry from the gate-house. Of the hundred and twenty-five soldiers, only the Major and thirty-three escaped, and most of them were wounded.¹ The rest were left dead between the exploded Spur and the Castle.

Every attempt to carry the Castle having failed, the Committee of Estates resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and starve the garrison into a surrender. This had the desired effect, as General Ruthven's provisions in the Fortress were scanty, many of his soldiers had died, and most of those alive were so sick of the scurvy by the frequent use of salt meat, that he had scarcely a sufficient number of men to mount guard as sentinels.² The garrison, moreover, had abandoned the Spur and all their outworks, and confined themselves solely to the Fortress. Ruthven called a council of war, by whom it was unanimously agreed, that in their deplorable condition the only course was to surrender on the most honourable terms they could obtain. A white flag was accordingly displayed as an intimation of their intentions, and General Leslie, with the sanction of the Committee of Estates, nominated Major Somerville, who had now recovered from his wounds, and two other gentlemen, to wait on General Ruthven. They met the General, who was attended by Captain Scrimgeour, in a guard-room within the third gate of the Fortress; and, after a friendly salutation, the former said to Major Somerville, the only one of the deputation whom he knew, that "they were now met in a more friendly manner than some weeks since they were like to have been, if stone walls had not hindered their nearer approach." Further conversation ensued, during a repast which General Ruthven had prepared in the guard-room, and of which he induced them to partake heartily, as if he had ample stores of provisions to hold out, but alleging that the King elsewhere required his presence. Major Somerville thought it unnecessary to contradict him, though he well knew that the want of water and provisions was the sole cause of the old General's surrender.

Major Somerville announced the result of this interview to the Committee of Estates, and on the following day they appointed two noblemen, two gentlemen, and Colonels Blair and Lindsay, to enter into terms of surrender. General Ruthven would meet them only on the Castle-hill, between the Fortress and their battery, and produced six articles of capitulation, which were partly granted and partly modified. It was also agreed, after some contention, that the garrison should be allowed as many arms as they could carry, all their baggage and ammunition, and should march out with their colours flying, taking their chance of their reception by the citizens. The articles were subscribed by General Leslie, Lords Lindsay, Loudon, Balmerino, Balfour of Burleigh, and Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, Bart., a Judge and afterwards Lord President of the Court of Session, on the part of the Covenanters, or Committee of Estates, and by General Ruthven, Captain Scrimgeour, and two others of his officers.³ The Fortress was surrendered on the 15th of September, after a siege, according to Lord Somerville, of five months, though the time appears to have been literally three months, assuming that it commenced after the garrison fired on the city, at the sitting of the Parliament in the beginning of June. Lord Somerville estimates the loss on the side of the besiegers and the citizens at one thousand men, women, and children, killed by casual shot—"much," he carefully observes, "against the intention and will of the besieged."⁴ The possession of the Fortress also cost the Covenanters a thousand shot of cannon, and the expenses of the mine to explode the Spur. The loss of the garrison during the siege is said to have been "some two hundred of all sorts."⁵

On the 18th of September the Fortress was vacated by General Ruthven and his garrison, consisting of about eighty men, who marched out with their arms, baggage, and six pieces of artillery, but without displaying their colours, lest the citizens might be provoked to attack them. They left in the Castle fifty barrels

¹ When the Major reached the battery he fainted, and was carried in a "wand-bed" to a house in the Lawnmarket amid the acclamations of the citizens, who crowded to see him, and applaud his bravery. The Magistrates visited him, brought two of the most eminent physicians in the city to dress his wounds, paid all the expenses, presented him by the hands of Sir Alexander Clark, Lord Provost, with the sum of

100*l.* sterling, and conferred on him the freedom of the city.—*Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii. pp. 243–253.

² Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 403.

³ *Memorie of the Somervilles*, vol. ii. pp. 254–260.

⁴ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 260.

⁵ Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 403.

of gunpowder, a large supply of balls of all sizes, and a considerable store of salted provisions.¹ They were received at the gate by three companies of musketeers, who guarded them to Newhaven, and saw them embark. Several of the Committee of Estates accompanied them to protect them from the fury of the citizens, who intended to pelt them with stones. The General walked as unconcerned as if he had been at the head of a victorious army, and at Newhaven he politely took leave of the noblemen, gentlemen, and officers, presenting 20*l.* sterling as a gratuity to their soldiers. Sir James Balfour, however, states that General Ruthven shipped his garrison to Berwick, and went thither himself by coach.

In 1641 Colonel Lindsay is mentioned as "Constable of the Castle;" and at this time James fifth Earl and afterwards first Marquis of Montrose, Archibald Lord Napier, Sir Archibald Stewart of Blackhall, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, were prisoners in the Fortress, on charges preferred against them by the Covenanting government on account of their loyalty. They were kept in strict durance, and the Parliament enjoined Colonel Lindsay to allow no more of Montrose's friends to have access to him than he and his garrison could command. The Colonel, on the 30th of July, was permitted, as Captain of the Castle, to receive two weeks' pay from Stephen Boyd of Temple of the "first and readiest of the Castle rents," and it was enacted that he was to obtain from the Estates two hundred merks monthly.²

A treaty of peace was concluded between England and Scotland on the 7th of August, 1641, immediately after which Charles I. left London for his northern dominions, which were still distracted by religious contentions. On the 10th, the Parliament ordered James Murray to have all the artillery ready which could be conveniently mounted, to give the King a "volley" at his entrance into Edinburgh. Charles arrived in the city on the evening of Saturday the 14th of August, but his reception was very different from that of 1633. The prerogatives of the Crown were now usurped by the Estates, and the King was compelled to enter the Palace of Holyrood under the banner of the Solemn League and Covenant. At this time Montrose and his companions were prisoners in the Castle. They were joined in their captivity by Sir Robert Spottiswoode and Sir John Hay, who had been the assessors at the trial of Lord Balmerino, by whose influence in the Parliament they were committed to the Castle as "incendiaries." At this period the Fortress was a state prison, to which numerous Royalists of rank were consigned.

For a period of ten years after its surrender to General Leslie in 1640, the Castle continued in possession of the Covenanting government. On the 25th of February, 1647, the Estates, in their regulations for the "train of artillerie and pay thereof," enacted that the magazine was to be in the Fortress, and remitted to the Committee "for moneys to consider of the keepers, and to condescend upon their allowance."³ The Earl of Leven was the Governor during that interval. On Saturday the 7th of October, 1648, the Fortress was honoured with a visit from Oliver Cromwell, then in Scotland, who, with Sir Arthur Hazelrig and other officers, proceeded in coaches to the Castle, by invitation of the Earl of Leven. A most sumptuous banquet was provided—"old Leven doing the honour, my Lord Marquis Argyll and divers other Lords being present to grace the entertainment. At our departure, many pieces of ordnance and a volley of small shot was given us from the Castle, and some Lords convoying us out of the city, we there parted," and rode to Dalhousie Castle.⁴ On the 12th of March, 1649, an "act and warrant" were sanctioned for "delivery of the keys of the houses of the Castle of Edinburgh, where the registers and records lie," to Sir Archibald Johnstone of Warriston, Lord Clerk Register.⁵ On the 13th of July, the Estates authorized the demolition of the Spur.⁶

The state of Scotland from 1640 to 1650 was most deplorable. The most sanguinary vengeance was inflicted on the Royalists, or Malignants, of all ranks, who were consigned to the scaffold without mercy. One of those executed at this period was George second Marquis of Huntly, the brother-in-law of the Marquis of Argyll, who made no effort to save him, but took possession of his estates, which he kept from 1653 to the Restoration, to repay himself, as he pretended, for a large sum of money he had lent to the Chief of the Gordons. Huntly, whose sole offence was loyalty to his unfortunate sovereign, had been exempted from pardon in 1647 by the Covenanting Parliament. He was taken prisoner the same year in Strathnaver in Sutherlandshire, committed to Edinburgh Castle, and remained in the Fortress from December 1647 till March 1649,

¹ Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 403.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 12, 19, 22, 24, 26.

³ *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. vi. p. 255.

⁴ *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, by Thomas Carlyle, 8vo. London, 1845, vol. i. p. 379.

⁵ *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. vi. p. 425.

⁶ *Ibid.* vol. vi. p. 481.

when he was tried and condemned to be beheaded at the Cross of Edinburgh, which sentence was inflicted shortly afterwards.

The popular and theological hatred to Cromwell, after the execution of Charles I., induced that party of the Covenanting Presbyterians who particularly abhorred Cromwell as a "sectarian," to treat with the exiled Charles II., who landed at Speymouth on the Moray Firth on Sunday the 23d of June, 1650. The intimation of the King's arrival reached Edinburgh on the 26th, during the sitting of the Parliament. The utmost joy was manifested by all classes. Salutes were fired from the Castle; ringing of bells, blowing of trumpets, dancing all night in the streets, were some of the demonstrations—and the very "kail-wives," or women who sold vegetables in the High Street, threw their creels, stalls, and stools into the bonfires.¹ On Friday the 2d of August, the King, who had arrived at Leith on the 29th of July, proceeded in state from Leith to the Castle, by the Canongate and High Street, attended by a number of the nobility, and escorted by a strong party of the Life-guards. After remaining some time in the Fortress, and receiving the usual salute from the artillery, the King walked down to the present Parliament House, in which, according to the contemporary statement, he was sumptuously entertained by the Lord Provost and Magistrates;² but another authority alleges that the banquet was given in the "Upper Chequer House," and that the King stayed only about two hours.³

The Committee of Estates were not inattentive to the state of Edinburgh Castle. On the 19th of June they ordered Sir James Stewart and Sir John Smith to provide the Fortress with oatmeal, one hundred bolls of which were to be furnished by Sir William Dick,⁴ and on the 25th a supply of coals was to be procured from Dysart in Fife.⁵ The magistrates were enjoined to break open a certain cellar which contained some arms, and send them to the Castle on the 29th, and the Lord Clerk Register Johnstone directed the attention of the Parliament to the condition of the Fortress, "in regard that the haill registers which concern the kingdom so highly are lying there, that they may be made secure."⁶ On the 5th of July the pay of the garrison was to be defrayed by the city, and 10,000 merks were to be paid to the Castle, and to the fortalice on the islet of Inchgarvie near Queensferry, out of the city's proportion of the levy of the 80,000 merks.⁷

The victory at Dunbar on the 30th of September, gained by the imprudence of the Covenanters, extricated Cromwell from the perilous position in which he had previously been placed; and, returning to Edinburgh in triumph, he now summoned the Castle to surrender.⁸ The siege, however, which followed, and which possesses little interest when compared with that of 1640, was not conducted by the future Protector in person, he having advanced to Glasgow, but by an officer whose name is well known in the history of the times—General Monk. The Castle was at this period under the command of Walter Dundas of Dundas, who is accused of treacherously surrendering it to Cromwell. It is said, indeed, that he never had any intention to hold out; for, although he occasionally fired against the English, he would not allow them to be molested in constructing their batteries. The conduct of Dundas and his officers is minutely detailed in a process against them before the Parliament.⁹ It was alleged that he had received a sum of money as the price of his treachery,

¹ Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 16, 17.

² Ibid. pp. 20, 21.

³ Sir James Balfour's Annales, vol. iv. p. 86.

⁴ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vi. pp. 522, 523.

⁵ Ibid. vol. vi. p. 528. Sir James Balfour says, under date 4th of June, that the Parliament "ordered 800 bolls meal, 500 malt, and 1000 lades of coalls out of Lord St. Clair's coal heuch, to be laid up with all expedition in Edinburgh Castle, with 500 merks to buy bedding for the souldiers, and that the cannon of the said Castle be mounted with the reddiest fynes. Sir John Smith and Sir James Stewart are to furnish 400 of this 800 bolls of meal, conform to their former paction. The House ordains the Committee of Fynes to meet to-morrow at seven in the morning for providing of the Castle of Edinburgh."—Annales of Scotland, vol. iv. p. 45.

⁶ Acta Parl. Scot. vol. vi. p. 531.

⁷ Ibid. vol. vi. pp. 539, 540.

⁸ The following account of an apparition at the Castle before the English invasion, given in a curious treatise published about the middle of last century, is a singular specimen of the credulity of the age:—"The Governor of the Castle of Edinburgh gave an account of this to a person in Edinburgh—That one night the sentry, upon a

great noise of drums and armed men approaching, fired to alarm the guard, who presently took their arms and approached the walls with the Governor; but, hearing nothing, the Governor beat the sentry, who notwithstanding stood to his assertion, whereupon he set another sentry, who gave the same account; but the Governor with the guard coming up could hear nothing, whereupon the Governor himself put all away and stood sentry himself, who within a little heard distinctly a great noise, as he thought, of armed men beating the *Scots March*, and approached to the Castle walls, and then desisted. Finding it an apparition, he stood yet longer, till a little after he heard the same noise approaching the Castle walls beating the *English March* more fierce than the other, and then desisted; a little after again he heard a great noise of armed men marching with greater violence than the other two, and at their approaching the Castle walls they desisted, and then beat the *French March* more fiercely than the Scots or English did. Next morning the Governor told the foresaid person what he had met with, and that they were shortly to remove, but the French would come ere the work were ended." The date assigned for these ghostly advances with Scottish, English, and French military music to the Castle, "is 1651 or 1652," but this is evidently a mistake.

⁹ "Summondis against Colonell Archibald Strauchan, Walter

and he was caricatured in London with one hand stretched out for a bag, and thrusting the Fortress from him with the other.¹ On the 14th of December the besiegers opened their fire, which they continued till the 18th, on the evening of which day Dundas displayed a white flag, and on the 19th eight articles of surrender were concluded between him and Monk. The public records, moveables, and all goods were to be conveyed by sea to Stirling; the garrison were to depart with their arms and baggage, drums beating, colours displayed, and in full marching order, with a free conduct to Burntisland in Fife, or any other place to which they might wish to proceed; and every facility was to be afforded to the officers and men.² The conditions were subscribed by the parties above mentioned, and countersigned by Cromwell, who then took possession of the Fortress. He found in it fifty-two pieces of artillery, most of them brass, ten thousand small arms, and a large supply of ammunition and provisions.³ Several of the towns-people were killed during the siege by the artillery of the Castle and the cannonading of the English. On one occasion in particular, a party of colliers having been brought from Haddingtonshire to work a mine on the south side of the Fortress, the garrison, to frustrate the design, poured down their shot in that direction, mortally wounding many of the inhabitants.

Cromwell caused the Fortress to be thoroughly repaired, and some allege that the present Half-Moon Battery was erected by him. The Castle was repeatedly a state prison for Royalists in his time. Among those committed were the Earl of Kinnoull and his son Viscount Dupplin, the Earl of Glencairn, Viscount Dudhope, and the Earl of Rothes, the last-mentioned on the pretence of breaking his patrol to Cromwell, but in reality to prevent a duel between him and Viscount Howard, whose lady he had seduced. At the death of the Protector in 1658, his son Richard was proclaimed his successor at the Cross; "the Castle also of Edinburgh," observes the local diarist, "displaying their colours, and shooting their cannons from the Castle: nothing was wanting at this tyme for honouring of that solemnitie, and much more was intended."⁴ But this apparent devotion to Cromwell's dynasty was of no long duration. The entrance of Charles II. into London on the 29th of May, which was also the anniversary of his birth, was duly celebrated by the garrison of the Castle, and the same diarist records that the discharging of the artillery "was met from the heavens with fire and a great deal of thunder, the like whereof was not seen by the space of many years before."⁵ On the 19th of June, Major-General Morgan, who was commander-in-chief, gratified the citizens by a military display of cavalry and infantry; at night fireworks were exhibited from the Castle, and from the Citadel at Leith; and the whole was concluded by "the effigies of that notable tyrant and traytor Oliver set upon a pole and the devil upon ane other, upon the Castle-hill of Edinburgh: it was ordered by fyrewark, ingyne, and trayne the devil did chase that traytor, and persecut him still till he blew him in the air."⁶

The most remarkable prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, immediately after the Restoration, was the celebrated Archibald, eighth Earl, created Marquis of Argyll by Charles I. in 1641. This nobleman was beheaded by the *maiden* on the 27th of May, and his head was placed on the spike at the west end of the Tolbooth which for eleven years had sustained that of the Marquis of Montrose.⁷ His son Lord Lorn, whose subsequent fate was similar, was committed a prisoner to the Castle in July 1662, and shortly after was condemned to be executed on a charge of lease-making. The English ministry, however, persuaded Charles II. not to inflict the sentence, and Lorn was discharged from the Castle on the 4th of June, 1663.

In 1679, the Duke of York, afterwards James II., visited Edinburgh, and was munificently entertained by the Magistrates, and, in 1680, he again arrived in the Scottish capital as a kind of exile from the English court, on account of his religious principles. At the Duke's first visit to the Castle on this occasion, the huge and curious piece of artillery called Mons Meg, which has undergone a variety of adventures, burst in firing a salute. Sir John Lauder, better known by his judicial title of Lord Fountainhall, records that this "was taken as a bad omen;"⁸ but the wonder is that the cannon had not burst long before, as a more insecure specimen of old ordnance is nowhere else to be seen than the said Mons Meg, which is now conspicuous on the Bomb Battery.

Dundas, younger of that Ilk, and utheris," in *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. vi. pp. 598-601.—See also the correspondence between Dundas and Cromwell, in reference to the siege, in *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, with Elucidations*, by Thomas Carlyle, vol. ii. pp. 87-98.

¹ Some Remarkable Passages of the Lord's Providence towards Mr. John Spreul, Town-Clerk of Glasgow, 1635-1664, 8vo. Edin. 1832, pp. 31, 32.

² Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 229-231.

³ *Scots Magazine*, 1745, p. 612.

⁴ Nicoll's *Diary*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 216, 217.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 290. ⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 293, 294. ⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 334, 335.

⁸ *Chronological Notes of Scottish Affairs from 1680 till 1701*, chiefly taken from his *Diary*, 4to. Edin. 1822

The Earl of Argyll, who had been restored to his grandfather's title in 1663, was tried on a variety of charges in 1681, while he was again a prisoner in the Castle. He was found guilty in the Justiciary Court, was conducted back to the Fortress to await his doom, and, from the preparations in the Tolbooth for his reception, it was evident that his execution was now intended; but he contrived to escape from the Castle on the 20th of December, in the disguise of a page, holding up the train of his step-daughter, Lady Sophia Lindsay, daughter of the Earl of Balcarras. The account of Argyll's escape at this time from a fate which eventually overtook him, is as interesting as any such adventures of more recent times.¹ In the summer of 1685, the Earl made his invasion of Scotland, in concert with the Duke of Monmouth in England. After various adventures he was apprehended in Renfrewshire, and having been conveyed to his old quarters in Edinburgh Castle, was executed on his former sentence at the Cross of Edinburgh, on the 30th of June, and interred in the Greyfriars' churchyard.

At the Revolution of 1688, which expelled the Stuart dynasty, the Castle was thoroughly repaired and put in a state of defence.² The Fortress was then commanded in person for James II. by George first Duke of Gordon, and the anxiety to obtain possession of it for the new government is intimated in the transactions of the time. On the 7th of March, 1689, William III. sent "Instructions," dated Hampton Court, to George first Earl of Melville, a zealous opponent of James II., one of which was, "If the Castle of Edinburgh be not rendered according to our former letters you shall treat for the rendering of it, and give assurance of indemnity, if need be, and such other gratifications to the Duke of Gordon and others as you shall see fit."³ Sir James Dalrymple of Stair wrote to Lord Melville, dated London, March 30, 1689, "I hope the settlement of the nation will be put to a close, especially seeing you are in danger from the Castle."⁴

Nothing of importance occurred in the Fortress for some weeks, until it was known that the Prince of Orange had accepted the crown of Scotland. This so much influenced an officer named John Auchmuty, that he refused to obey the orders of his Grace or his deputy-governor, and was even inclined to secure their persons; but the Duke induced him to return to his duty. After the Prince of Orange had issued his proclamation as William III., a person arrived at the Castle with a verbal message from James II., ordering the Duke to leave the Fortress in the hands of Colonel Winram, the lieutenant-governor, and retire to the North, where he would receive instruction from the expatriated King. The Duke declined to obey, on the plea that the messenger was a stranger to him, and had no credentials. The disaffection of the garrison meanwhile increased, and the Duke, feeling himself obliged to expel those who would not renew their oath of

¹ "He was lying a prisoner in Edinburgh Castle, in daily expectation of the order arriving for his execution, when woman's wit intervened to save him, and he owed his life to the affection of his favourite step-daughter, the sprightly Lady Sophia, who about eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the 20th of December, 1681, effected his escape in the following manner, as related to Lady Anne Lindsay by her father, Earl James, Lady Sophia's nephew:—Having obtained permission to pay him a visit of one half-hour, she contrived to bring as her page a tall, awkward country clown, with a fair wig procured for the occasion, who had apparently been engaged in a fray, having his head tied up. On entering, she made them immediately change clothes. They did so, and on the expiration of the half-hour, she, in a flood of tears, bade farewell to her supposed (step)-father, and walked out of the prison with the most perfect dignity, and with a slow pace. The sentinel at the drawbridge, a sly Highlander, eyed her (step)-father hard, but her presence of mind did not desert her. She twitched her train of embroidery, carried in those days by the page, out of his hand, and dropping it into the mud—'Varlet!' cried she in a fury, dashing it across his face, 'take that, and that too,' adding a box on the ear, 'for knowing no better how to carry your lady's garment!' Her ill-treatment of him, and the dirt with which she had besmeared his face, so confounded the sentinel that he let them pass the drawbridge unquestioned." Having passed through all the guards, attended by a gentleman from the Castle, Lady Sophia entered her carriage, which was in waiting for her. 'The Earl,' says a contemporary annalist, 'steps on the hinder part as her lackey, and coming fore-against the Weigh-House slips off and shifts for himself.'"—*Lives of the Lindsays, or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarras*, by Lord Lindsay, 8vo. Wigan, 1840, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27.

² *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochell*, printed for the ABBOTS-

FORD CLUB, p. 234. The external appearance of the Castle at the time is ascertained from the almost contemporary publication of Slezer, one of whose views is that of the Fortress overlooking the esplanade, which was then completely open, and is represented as sufficiently rocky. The Half-Moon Battery, and the adjacent edifice in which James VI. was born, are delineated as they now exist; but the flag-staff, which has now long been erected on that battery, is seen on the battlemented top of the adjoining tenement overlooking the old city. The Fortress was entered by a drawbridge, forming a flight of steps in the centre of a lower fortification, defended by artillery, which extended beneath the Half-Moon Battery, and is superseded by the present batteries on each side of the drawbridge and portcullis. The strength of the ordinary garrison of Edinburgh is detailed in a statement of the daily pay of officers and men in 1684. "Captain, 8s.; lieutenant, 4s.; ensign, 3s.; three sergeants, 1s. 6d. each, 4s. 6d.; three gunners, do.; three corporals, 1s. each, 3s.; two drummers, 1s. each, 2s.; scrivener, 2s.; chaplain, 2s.; surgeon, 2s.; one hundred and eight sentinels at 6d. each, 2l. 14s.; gunsmith, 10l. sterling quarterly, or 2s. 4½d. For coal and candle to the said garrison yearly, 20l. sterling." The whole expenses each day amounted to 4l. 11s. 4½d. See "Establishment for the Pay of his Majesty's standing Forces in his ancient Kingdom of Scotland, according to 28 dayes in each month, and 13 months in the year." Printed in the "Miscellany of the Maitland Club," vol. iii. Part I. p. 79, from the original document, a large sheet of vellum preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, subscribed by Charles II., and countersigned by the Secretary of State.

³ Letters and State Papers chiefly addressed to George Earl of Melville, Secretary of State for Scotland, 1689–1691, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edinburgh, 1843, p. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 5.

obedience, then assembled the remaining soldiers, to whom he declared his resolution to defend the Fortress, and told those who were unwilling to risk any hazard, that they also were at liberty to depart, and would be paid their full arrears. Two of the gunners only left the Fortress at the time; but on the following day a most serious defection ensued, Lieutenant Auchmuty, the master gunner, four sergeants, and corporals, and between sixty and seventy privates, leaving the Castle. The Duke then shut the gates, and prepared for defence.

While things were in this state in the Castle, a circumstance occurred which not a little astonished the citizens of Edinburgh. Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, withdrew from the Convention, and left the city at the head of not more than thirty or forty troopers, to raise the Clans in favour of James II. This little band took their departure by Leith Wynd, and riding slowly along the line of the present Princes Street, when at the end of the "Lang Gate," or "Row," as the road was then called, the Viscount ordered his men to halt near the ground now occupied by St. John's Episcopal Chapel. The Duke of Gordon watched the movements of this party with his telescope from the Castle, and perceived one of their number riding towards the base of the rock. This was Dundee, who climbed the rock on the west side of the Fortress to the foot of the wall, in which was then a gate known as the Postern Gate;¹ here the two noblemen conversed for a few minutes, and this brief interview was the last occasion on which they met. The Viscount's subsequent fate at Killiecrankie is well known; and it must be acknowledged that his death saved King William an infinitude of trouble.

The Duke still holding out the Fortress, a strong party of the Covenanters, called Cameronians, began an intrenchment on the west of the Castle rock, occupying as posts the Weigh-House, the West-Port, and St. Cutlibert's Church, respectively on the east, south, and north of the Castle. The operations soon commenced with some vigour, and the intrenchments formed on the west side of the Castle were considerably injured by the Duke's fire. Shortly afterwards a truce was beat by the besiegers for a cessation of hostilities, to allow the interment, in the Greyfriars' churchyard, of Sir George Lockhart, Lord President of the Court of Session, who had been assassinated on Easter Sunday in the Lawnmarket by Chiesly of Dalry. On the 6th of April the besiegers, though not without the loss of some men, had finished a battery on "Collops Castle," an old ruined tenement near the West-Port,² on which they planted two eighteen-pounders, but in a few hours these were both dismounted. Some time after this they made an attempt to deprive the wells in the Fortress of water, by opening the sluices of the North Loch, and reducing its level. This was on the 29th of April, and, though the attempt was unsuccessful, yet the Duke, on the 10th of May, had only ten feet water in the high well, and all the others were dry. On the 9th of May, the besiegers commenced the construction of a battery on Multrie's Hill, a hamlet which occupied the site of the present General Register House at the east end of Princes Street. From that day till the 14th of June, fully three months after the commencement of the siege, a good deal of firing was maintained at intervals by the besiegers from their posts and temporary works, which seem, however, to have been clumsy and inefficient erections, doing little real injury to the Fortress. Some of their bombs, which had been brought from Stirling Castle to assist in the reduction of the Fortress, went over the battlements, and others never reached them, falling at the West-Port, and damaging the houses in that locality. It is alleged that the besiegers always commenced vigorously firing on Sundays, which was considered somewhat inconsistent with their religious professions; and one of the Duke's Highlanders is said to have observed, that "though he was apt to forget the other days of the week, yet he well knew Sunday, by some mischief or other begun, or hotly carried on, by our reformers."

The Duke of Gordon at last found that it would be impossible to maintain the Fortress much longer. The relief promised by the Viscount of Dundee within twenty days had not been forthcoming; only five hundred Irish auxiliaries, instead of twenty thousand men, had landed in the Highlands; numbers of the garrison were constantly deserting, and informing the besiegers of the state of the Castle; the sick men were daily increasing, and scarcely forty were able to perform their duty, and relieve the night sentinels; the water was bad, the provisions would not last ten days longer; the ammunition was nearly exhausted, and all other necessities were wanting; the fuel was greatly diminished; and the wood in the buildings injured by the bombs. At six o'clock,

¹ This postern gate, which has long disappeared, was visible in the time of Sir John Dalrymple, though then built up.—Memoirs of Great Britain, 4to. 1771, vol. i. p. 221. The Viscount of Dundee's departure from the city on this occasion is the theme of one of the most

spirited ballads of Sir Walter Scott, who makes it, however, by the West Bow.

² Immortalised in the *Fortunes of Nigel*, as the residence of Richie Moniplies.

therefore, on the 11th of June, the Duke displayed the white flag, and on the 13th the Fortress was surrendered on honourable terms to Major-General Lanier.¹ At ten o'clock in the evening, Major Somerville marched into the Castle with two hundred men, and on the 14th the garrison vacated the Fortress in small parties, that they might be less noticed, though some of them were nevertheless roughly treated by the mob. They left in the Castle fifty-nine barrels of gunpowder, only five of which were entire and the greater part spoiled with water, and a small quantity of very indifferent provisions. The principal persons in the garrison, besides the Duke of Gordon, were the Earl of Dunmore, second son of the first Marquis of Atholl, Viscount Oxenford, and Colonels Winram and Wilson, who were kept under restraint, though allowed some liberty under certain conditions.

About three weeks after the surrender of the Castle, Colin third Earl of Balcarras, who had been prevented from joining Dundee, by having been apprehended in his own mansion of Balcarras in Fife, was transferred from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh to the Castle, in which he continued a prisoner till after the suppression of the Viscount's enterprise in the North, and the dispersion of his forces.² The condition in which King William's government found the Fortress may be inferred from the following admission, which is assigned as a reason for urging the speedy removal of the Duke of Gordon, then a prisoner on parole:—"The Castle of Edinburgh is so ruined, that there is scarce a room to keep my Lord Balcarras in; who was sent here this night."³

Various of James II.'s supporters among the Scottish nobility were for several years committed to the Castle for intrigues against King William; but the most remarkable prisoner was John first Earl of Breadalbane, deeply implicated in the massacre of Glencoe, who is described as "cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and as slippery as an eel." His lordship remained in custody some time, but was at last released without trial.

It is stated that Sir Archibald Murray of Blackbarony received 7332*l.* for the repairs of the Castle, from October 1695 to May 1697, the accounts or disbursements of which were to be given in to the Exchequer attested by the Earl of Leven, and that 3600*l.* of the above sum had been "profitably" expended in the enlargement of the Fortress; but no such attestation was forthcoming in the Parliament of 1704, the Laird of Blackbarony only alleging that he paid all the money to workmen and others.⁴ In 1702, the year after Queen Anne's accession, the garrison consisted of the Governor, deputy-governor, and one hundred and forty-three men, whose united daily pay amounted to 5*l.* 19*s.*, or 2069*l.* per annum.⁵

The Union was effected in 1707, amid the most violent opposition of the Scottish people. It was then declared that Edinburgh Castle was to be one of four fortresses in Scotland which should be kept in continual repair. It was stipulated that "the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State, continue to be kept as they are, within that part of the United Kingdom now called Scotland, and that they shall so remain in all time coming." On the 26th of March, after the rising of the last Parliament of Scotland, the Regalia were taken from the Parliament House to the Castle, and were deposited in the Crown-room, on the east side of the square adjoining the Half-Moon Battery. In surrendering them for the last time to the Earl of Glasgow, Treasurer-Depute, the Earl Marischal, who had opposed the Union in all its stages, declined to witness the consignment of the Regalia to upwards of a century, as it proved, of dust and oblivion. With the Treaty of the Union, the history of Edinburgh Castle, as a fortress of importance in the national annals, may be said to terminate.

¹ "Last night the Castle of Edinburgh was delivered up on capitulation by the Duke of Gordon; the copy of the articles that Sir John Lanier agreed on with him, and the Council's ratification thereof, is here enclosed sent."—Duke of Hamilton to Lord Melville, dated Holyrood-house, 14th June, 1689, in the Leven and Melville Papers, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 57, 58. "God be thanked the Castle is delivered, and Dundee's people dissipate, so the King's (William III.) affairs here are above their mischief."—Sir John Dalrymple to Lord Melville, dated Edinburgh, 18th June, 1689.—*Ibid.* p. 61.

² A curious account of the apparition of Dundee to his confidential friend Balcarras, in the Castle, is given by Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe. It was at daybreak, and the Earl was in bed. "The spectre, drawing aside the curtain of the bed, looked very steadfastly upon the Earl, after which it moved towards the mantelpiece, remained there for some time in a leaning posture, and then walked out of the chamber without uttering one word. Lord Balcarras, in great surprise, though not suspecting that which he saw to be an apparition, called out repeatedly to

his friend to stop, but received no answer; and subsequently learned that at the very moment this shadow stood before him, Dundee had breathed his last near the field of Killiecrankie."

³ Leven and Melville Papers, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 142.

⁴ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. xi. p. 160.

⁵ The garrison consisted of the Governor, who had 12*s.* per day; the deputy-governor, 7*s.*; two lieutenants, 4*s.* each; two ensigns, 3*s.* each; three sergants, 1*s.* 6*d.* each; four corporals, 1*s.* each; two drummers, 1*s.* each; one hundred and twenty soldiers, 6*d.* each; chaplain, 2*s.* 6*d.*; master gunner, 2*s.* 6*d.*; five gunners, 1*s.* 6*d.* each; surgeon, 2*s.*; porter, 1*s.*; gunsmith, 40*l.* per annum; coals and candles, 30*l.*—"Establishment for the Pay of her Majesty's standing Forces in Scotland, 15th May, 1702," from the original document signed ANNE R. in the General Register House, Edinburgh, in the "Miscellany of the Maitland Club," vol. iii. Part I. p. 96.

At the outbreak of the rebellion of 1715, under the Earl of Mar, a party of the Jacobites, consisting of about eighty persons, chiefly Highlanders, at the head of whom was James Lord Drummond, eldest son of the Earl of Perth, formed a plan for surprising the Castle, which at the time contained ample stores, and a sum of not less than 100,000*l.*, sent to Scotland as an equivalent for the distress which the English taxation had caused.¹ They gained over four of the garrison sentinels, one of whom was afterwards executed for his treachery; and it was resolved, that on the evening of the 9th of September the walls should be scaled on the north-west side, near the sally-port, where the rock is less precipitous. The design was defeated, it is said, partly by private information communicated to the authorities by the wife of a citizen connected with the project; but the dilatory mismanagement of the Highlanders themselves must have caused its failure. They indulged till so late in the evening in drinking, that when at length the attempt was begun, it was almost the time for changing guard, and while their friends in the Castle were pulling up their ladders the hour arrived, and an officer came unexpectedly upon the assailants. One of the traitor sentinels immediately fired his musket, and called to those below that the plot was discovered, on which the insurgents hastily dispersed; and his companions at the same time letting go the ropes, a few of those who had commenced the ascent fell among the rocks and were seriously hurt. To complete their misfortunes, at the very moment that this took place, a party of the city-guard, whom the Lord Provost had called out for the purpose of seizing the rebels, sallied from the West Port and captured several of those who were thus injured. The discovery of this plot caused the immediate arrest of all suspected persons, some of whom were of high rank.²

The extinction of the rebellion left Edinburgh in its then stationary condition, and the history of the Castle is of no importance for several years. In 1736 occurred the celebrated "Porteous Mob," which is subsequently narrated in this work in connexion with the Old Tolbooth and the Grassmarket. During the night of that daring act, so completely had the ringleaders arranged their plans, that every access to the Castle was regularly guarded; and though it contained a strong garrison, the commanding-officer, having before his eyes the consequences of unauthorized violence to the unhappy Porteous himself, refused to march out his troops and disperse the mob unless he received a written order from the Lord Provost. This, however, was impossible, and might have hazarded the life of any one on whom such a document was found by the populace.

The romantic enterprise of Prince Charles Edward in 1745, again roused the inactive citizens. When the approach of the Highland army was known, the money in the banks, and all important documents in the public offices, were removed to the Castle, which was then commanded by General Guest. Prince Charles was too enthusiastic to loiter in provincial towns, and pushing forward to Edinburgh, he arrived with his army of adventurers at Holyrood House on the 17th of September, taking a circuitous route along the southern environs of the city, to avoid the artillery of the Castle. On the 22d of September, the day after the battle of Prestonpans or Gladsmuir, ten miles from Edinburgh, at which the royal troops were completely routed, Prince Charles returned to Holyrood House. The Castle, however, was still held out, and General Guest indignantly scouted every threat to compel him to surrender. "When I found," says Lord George Murray, "that it was determined to blockade the Castle of Edinburgh, I took my share of the danger and fatigue, though I declared from the beginning as my opinion, that it was impracticable to take it without cannon, engineers, and regular troops; others thought it would be obliged to surrender for want of provisions; but General Guest was too knowing an officer to have neglected so material a thing, and I was sure we were not to stay long enough to bring them to any straits."³ The result was that which his lordship had anticipated. After much excitement in the city, and the killing and wounding of several persons by the artillery of the garrison, the Chevalier issued a proclamation withdrawing the blockade of the Castle, which terminated hostilities in this quarter; and the Prince soon marching into England, the Fortress had no further connexion with the rebellion.⁴

¹ Patten's History of the Rebellion in 1715, pp. 158-160.

² The reader may find a contemporary account of this affair in the Scots Magazine for 1818, p. 26.

³ Marches of the Highland Army, from the original MS. of Lord George Murray, a younger son of the first Duke of Atholl, in "Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745," edited from the MSS. of the Right Rev. Robert Forbes, Bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church, by Robert Chambers, 8vo. Edin. 1834, pp. 43-45.

⁴ The old mansion of Wrightshouses, a most antique pile, pulled down in 1800, had a narrow escape. "Upon one occasion a small party of the rebels took refuge there from the King's troops, and were complimented with a shower of cannon-balls from the Castle. Not a ball of the Castle would touch its old ally the Wrightshouses, but many buried themselves in its park; and an old man of the name of Adamson, who related the story, had nearly lost his head from one of them when a boy, as he was looking out of a window in the adjacent

Nothing of consequence has occurred within the walls of the Fortress since the period of which we have been speaking, apart from the usual routine of military duty, the removal and succession of regiments, and the casual visits of distinguished strangers. One incident, however, deserves particular notice; we allude to the discovery of the ancient Regalia of Scotland. These most interesting relics, as has been already mentioned, were deposited in the Castle at the time of the Union; and their very existence seems to have been so completely lost sight of, for nearly a hundred years, that their recovery at last was the result of accident. In November 1794, a royal warrant was issued to certain noblemen and officers of state to open the Crown-room, in which the Regalia had been placed, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it contained any records. These gentlemen reported, as the result of their search, that the only article in the apartment was a large chest of oak wood, six feet three inches long, two feet six and a half inches wide, and two feet six and a half inches deep, fastened by two iron locks, for which no keys could be discovered, which "probably might contain the Regalia of Scotland; but they were doubtful of the propriety of causing the same to be forced open," and "in the meantime left it shut, as before, till his Majesty's further pleasure be known." The Crown-room, secured with additional fastenings, was again left to silence, and the fate of the Regalia remained for upwards of twenty years more as uncertain as ever. At length, however, curiosity was excited, and a royal commission having been appointed to investigate the subject, on the 4th of February, 1818, ten of the Commissioners proceeded to the Fortress and opened the chest.¹ This moment must have been one of deep interest, and the national enthusiasm was widely excited by the successful result of the search. "The Regalia," we are told, "were discovered lying at the bottom covered with linen cloths, exactly as they had been left in the year 1707, about one hundred and ten years since they had been surrendered by William ninth Earl Marischal to the custody of the Earl of Glasgow, Treasurer-Depute of Scotland. There was found in the chest with the Regalia a silver rod or mace, topped with a globe, apparently deposited there by the Earl of Glasgow, and which proves to be the mace of office peculiar to the Treasurer of Scotland. It is mentioned in the discharge granted by the Privy Council to Sir Patrick Murray in 1621."²

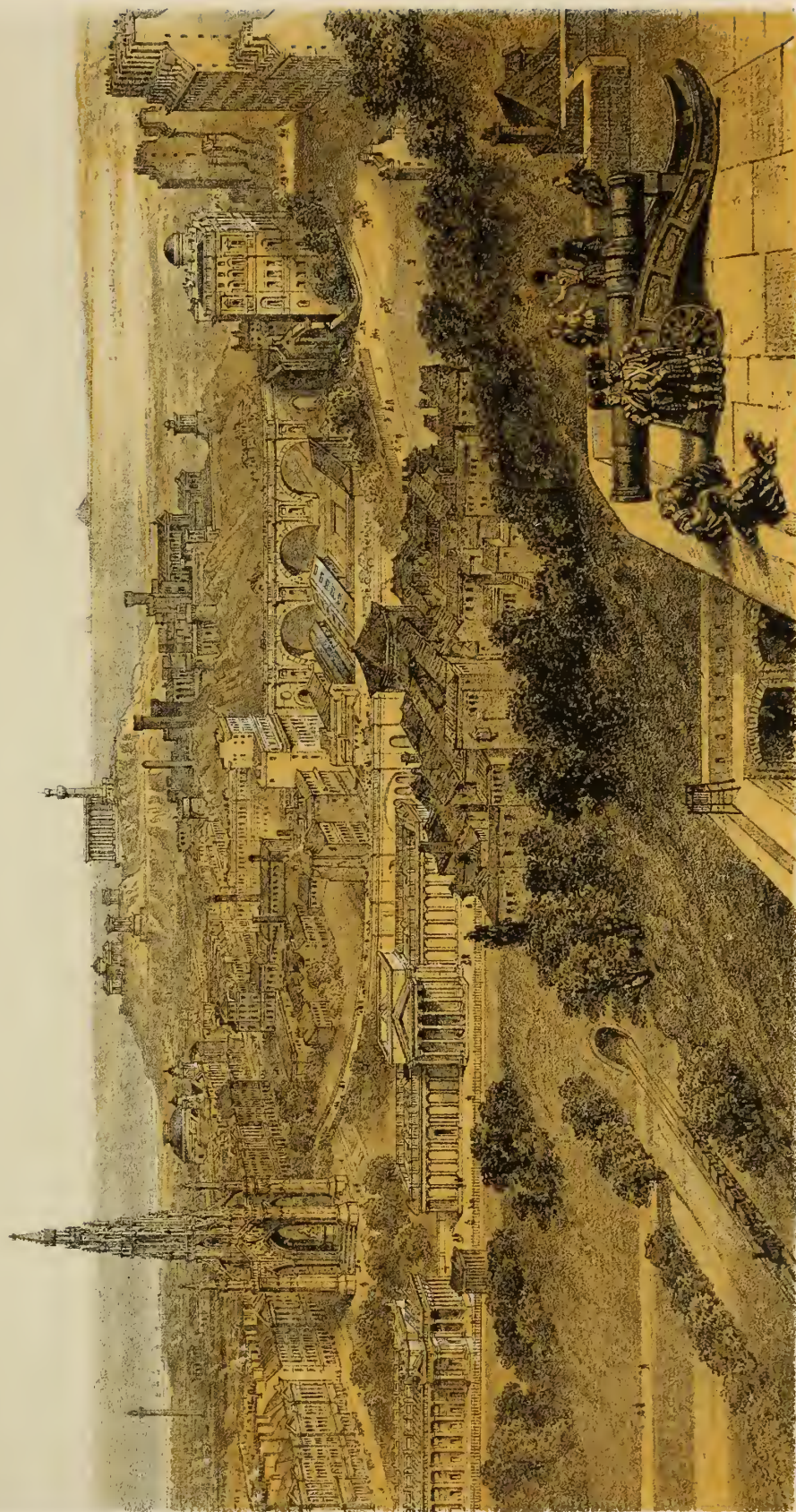
The Regalia of Scotland consist of the royal crown, the sceptre, and the sword of state. Part of the crown is conjectured to be as ancient as the reign of Robert Bruce, previous to whose coronation the former crown, whatever was its form or value, was carried off by the English in 1296, and was never returned; but as it now appears it was, according to Lord Fountainhall, "casten of new by James V." which, it is observed, we "must understand in the limited sense of an alteration in the form by the addition of the arches, not an actual remoulding of the whole substance of the crown." The sceptre, about thirty-three inches long, was made in the reign of James V., as appears from that monarch's initials under the figures of three saints placed on the top; and it is conjectured to be of Parisian workmanship, of the same date with the alteration of the crown, and probably made during James V.'s visit to Paris in 1536. The sword of state was presented by Pope Julius II. to James IV. in 1507, accompanied by a consecrated hat; and both were delivered with great solemnity in the Abbey Church of Holyrood by the Papal Legate, and by James Hepburn, Abbot of Dunfermline, Lord High Treasurer, afterwards Bishop of Moray. The sculpture on the handle, and the filagree work covering the sheath, are peculiarly elegant; the devices interwoven with the chasing are the Papal tiara and the keys of St. Peter, and the foliage of oak-leaves and acorns is the personal device of Pope Julius II. The sword is about five feet in length, of which the handle and pommel occupy fifteen inches; the sword-belt is in the possession of the descendants of Ogilvy of Barras, the defender of Dunotter Castle at the time the Regalia were deposited there. The numerous pearls in the Regalia are supposed to be the productions of Scotland.

The Rod of the Lord High Treasurer is about thirty inches in length, having a glass globe at the top. In the Crown-room are several other interesting and valuable memorials, such as the golden collar of the Order of the Garter sent by Queen Elizabeth to James VI.; the Badge representing St. George and the Dragon; the Badge of the Order of the Thistle, having a figure of St. Andrew on the one side, and of Anne of Denmark on the other, set with diamonds; and the ruby ring set with diamonds, worn by Charles I. at his

village."—History of the Partition of the Lennox, by Mark Napier, Esq., 8vo. Edin. 1835, p. 189. A house at the south-east end of the Esplanade still exhibits, inserted in its gable-wall, a cannon-ball discharged from the Half-Moon Battery during this affair; another was lodged in front of a house in the West Bow, now removed.

¹ Sir Walter Scott was one of these Commissioners, and interested himself warmly in the task confided to him.

² Papers relative to the Regalia of Scotland, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. Edin. 1820, pp. 50, 51, and 99-103.



VIEW OF EDINBURGH FROM THE CASTLE.
From an Original Drawing by D. Roberts, R.A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON.

coronation in the Chapel-royal of Holyrood in 1633. These jewels were bequeathed by Cardinal York to George III., and were deposited in the Crown-room by command of his late Majesty.

The visits of royal and distinguished persons to Edinburgh Castle are the only incidents now to be noticed. The first Prince of the House of Hanover who visited the Fortress, with probably the exception of the Duke of Cumberland in 1746, was the late Duke of Gloucester, in 1795. The late Emperor, then the Archduke Nicholas, of Russia, visited the Castle in 1816; in the previous year the Archdukes John and Louis, and in 1818, the Archduke Maximilian, of Austria, honoured it with their presence. George IV. during his visit to Scotland in 1822, proceeded on the 22d of September from Holyrood to the Castle, and surveyed with deep interest from its battlements the fair city lying beneath, and the rich and varied scenery around. Exactly twenty years later her present Majesty and her royal consort stood within these venerable walls; and of this visit, unquestionably the most interesting event in the modern history of the Fortress, the reader may find a most lively and graphic description in Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland in 1842. In 1844, Frederick Crown Prince of Denmark, Frederick Augustus King of Saxony, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, respectively visited the Castle; and in May, 1845, Prince Henry, third son of William II. King of the Netherlands. There have been numerous visits of Royal persons since the above dates.

The Castle is entered from the esplanade already mentioned as the Castle-hill, which in former times was one of the places of execution in Edinburgh, and the scene of many a burning of witches. The outer works were barriers of palisades, and a large gate with a drawbridge and dry ditch; the access to the interior is by a steep road winding under the Half-Moon Battery. Within the first gate, which is of great strength, are the water reservoir and a guard-room, flanked on each side by mounted batteries; the second gate, further up, is an archway under a plain building formerly used as a state prison, and in the centre is a portcullis. A few yards beyond this is a steep ascent by steps to the Half-Moon Battery and the old part of the Fortress; at the foot of these steps is the main-guard, directly opposite the Argyll Battery, overlooking Princes Street and the new city; and immediately west of this Battery is a series of plain edifices, erected for the accommodation of gun-carriages, implements of artillery, and military stores. A sloping pathway leads to the powder-magazine, the only structure in the Fortress which is bomb-proof, the armoury or arsenals, capable of containing 30,000 stand of arms, and the grand store-room. Here is also the Governor's house, inhabited by the Fort-major, and adjoining is the Ordnance-office; above this is a large barrack, capable of accommodating a thousand men. Between this and the west side of the buildings of the quadrangle is a military prison, and from this quarter the road is carried under an open gateway to the Half-Moon Battery, the Chapel, and the Bomb Battery, on which is placed the huge old cannon already mentioned as Mons Meg, formed of bars of iron bound together with iron hoops, and believed to be of the fifteenth century. Immediately adjoining these batteries is the quadrangle, in which are the former royal apartments where James VI. was born, the ancient Parliament Hall, the Crown-room, and other buildings of a more ordinary description.

The views from Edinburgh Castle in every direction are magnificent. Stretching on the east to the German Ocean, and on the west as far as Stirling and the nearer Highlands; on the north embracing the whole extent of the Firth of Forth, the Fifeshire hills, and the lofty summits of the Grampians; while on the south the view is closed in by the picturesque chain of the Pentlands and the Soutra range,—description is baffled by the extent and variety of the scenery embraced within these ample limits. In the more immediate vicinity of the Fortress, the dark and rugged masses of the old town, grandly backed by Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags, with the fair expanse of the modern city, terminated at one extremity by the towers and monuments of the Calton Hill, and on the other by the soft and richly wooded eminences of Corstorphine, form a scene which it is equally impossible adequately to describe. Here the unavailing labours of the pen may well give place to those happier efforts of the pencil, which in the present work render description almost superfluous.

The Abbey and Palace of Holyrood.



TRANSITION from the Castle of Edinburgh to the ancient Abbey, Palace, and royal domain of Holyrood, discloses to our view scenes and events of a different character from those which have been detailed in the preceding narrative. While the annals of almost every fortress and baronial castle of bygone times bring before us the stern and rugged features of the past, telling us of all the influences owing to which, in the Dark Ages, *might* so commonly usurped the place of right; on the other hand, the history of the religious foundations of the same period reveals the operation of motives and principles of a milder description, by which the ruder characteristics of the age were in a considerable degree softened. Of these principles, none had a more beneficial tendency than the disposition displayed by the rich and powerful of those days to consecrate some part of their wealth to the service of God by the erection of a monastery or the endowment of an abbey. Unquestionably, the piety which led to this result was too generally of a very superstitious character, these charitable deeds being regarded as sufficient atonement for almost any crime; and it is equally undeniable, that in every religious house much evil existed in the nature of the faith it taught, and not seldom also in the lives of its inmates. Still, in the state of society existing during the Middle Ages, the benefits to the population of such institutions were, on the whole, very considerable; while the motives of their founders were often, we may hope, of a more elevated character than the mere anxiety to bribe, as it were, the clemency of Heaven; springing from the patriotic wish to extend the blessings of religion over the country at large, or to confer the same advantages on some particular district; and, it may be supposed, originating not unfrequently, as in the present instance (according to the legend), in gratitude for the Divine favour and protection, experienced at some time of unusual peril or difficulty.

Of all the benefactors of the ancient Church of Scotland, David I., or St. David, as he is also termed, is the most conspicuous. His name is transmitted to posterity as the founder of several splendid religious houses, prominently noticed in the sequel of this work, and of which one of the most celebrated was the Abbey of Holyrood. According to the legend, this monastery was founded on the spot where David was miraculously preserved from the furious attack of a deer; the narration of which circumstance by Bellenden, in his translation of Boethius, is most likely one of those mixtures of fable and reality which so frequently derive their existence from what was in itself a very simple event. It is entitled—"How Kyng David past to the hunters on the Croce Day¹ in hervest, how he was dung fra his hors be ane wyld hart, and how he foundit the Abbay of Halyrudhous be myracle of the Holy Croce." In the fourth year of his reign, according to this legend, David I., on Rood Day, or the festival of the Exaltation of the Cross, after the celebration of mass, yielded to the request of some young nobles, against the advice of his confessor Alwin, and a hunting party proceeded eastward of the Castle, near the base of Salisbury Crags. David and his attendants were soon separated in the forest, and as he approached the base of the hill, a deer suddenly appeared, and ran with great violence towards him. The King's horse was so alarmed as to become unmanageable, and the hart threw him to the ground, severely wounded on the thigh. While David threw out his arms to save himself from the stroke of the infuriated animal, a piece of the true Cross which he possessed in a crucifix (though, according to Father Hay, on this occasion it marvellously slipped into his hand), caused the stag to disappear or vanish

¹ The festival of the Holy Cross is celebrated on the 14th of September.

at the spot where springs the Rood Well.¹ The King returned to the Castle, and in the night he was admonished in a vision to found an Abbey for canons regular, of the Order of St. Augustine, on the spot where he was preserved by the Cross. When he awoke, he made known this vision to Alwin, who zealously exhorting him to obey the divine command, he sent to France and Flanders, and obtained "richt crafty masons" to erect the Abbey, which he dedicated to the Holy Cross. The piece of the true Cross, of which, according to the legend, "na man can schaw of quhat mater it is, metal or tree," was preserved with due care in the Abbey of Holyrood till the reign of King David Bruce. That monarch carried it with him into England in 1346, and it was secured and placed in Durham Cathedral after the disastrous battle fought near that city on the 17th of October in the same year, in which the Scottish forces were entirely defeated.

The sheltered and romantic site of the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood is in the verdant plain which lies at the base of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat. The erection of the Abbey was begun in its present situation in 1128,² and though the great charter is dated in 1143,³ it is evident that the canons had previously obtained possession, for in that charter they were permitted to build a burgh between their church and the King's burgh, and this was the origin of the Canongate.⁴ The original monastery church which, with the Abbey, has long since disappeared, consisted of three divisions. In the east end was the great altar, which was ascended by steps; the choir contained the pulpit, from which the epistles and gospels were read; and the nave was the place of prayer for the people. The interior and exterior were most imposing and ornamental, and the endowment was also most munificent.⁵ No person was to be allowed to molest or disturb any of the canons, or their vassals residing on the lands, or unjustly to exact any auxiliary work or secular

¹ According to Nisbet (*System of Heraldry*, folio, Edinburgh, 1742, vol. i. p. 334), Sir Gregan Crawford interposed and killed the stag; and its head, with a cross between the horns, became the armorial distinction of his family as well as of the Abbey of Holyrood. This is the crest of Crawford of Kilbirnie, in Stirlingshire, and of Crawford of Welford, in Berks. Father Hay most erroneously assumes that the Rood Well is St. Anthony's Well, below the ruins of St. Anthony's Chapel, at the north-western base of Arthur's Seat. The precise locality of the Rood Well of Holyrood, at which tradition says the pious King David quenched his thirst after recovering from his encounter with the stag, is not known, or at least no well has been known by that name for centuries. In 1845, among other improvements then in progress in the royal parks, a fine spring of water was re-opened on the northern base of Salisbury Crags, where the hill slopes down into the park near the Queen's Road. This spring is designated the *Rood Well*, but whether it is correctly so called, or will become popularly known as such, is another question.

² "Anno 1128, cepit fundari ecclesia Sanctæ Crucis de Edeneburgh."—*Chronicon de Mailros*; *Chronicon S. Crucis*. Father Hay's "Diplomatum Collectio," in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, in "*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*," printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB. Preface, p. xvi.

³ Notwithstanding the interval between the foundation of Holyrood and the date of the great charter, David I., in an Assembly held in 1128, granted the foundation charter—"regali auctoritate, assensu Henrici filii mei, et episcoporum regni mei, comitum quoque baronumque confirmatione et testimonio, clero etiam acquiescente et populo."—*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, folio, 1844, vol. i. p. 57.

⁴ Father Hay, however, alleges that the canons of Holyrood continued to reside in the Castle till the reign of William the Lion, which extended from 1165 to 1214. Referring to the year 1176, Father Hay says—"Att which time the monastery of Holyroodhouse was as yet seated in the Castle of Edinburgh, and these canons were in possession of the buildings of the nuns, who gave to the Castle the name of *Castrum Puellarum*. These nuns had been thrust out of the Castle by Saint David, and in their place the canons had been introduced by the Pope's dispense, as fitter to live amongst soldiers. They continued in the Castle during Malcolm the Fourth his reign, upon which account we have severall charters of that King granted *apud Monasterium Sanctæ Crucis de Castello Puellarum*. Under King William, who was a great benefactor to Holyroodhouse, I fancie the canons retired to the place which is now called the Abbey, and upon the first foundation, which was made in honour of the Holy Cross, they retained

their first denomination of Holyroodhouse."—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, Preface, p. xxii.

⁵ The canons received a donation of the church of Edinburgh Castle, the church and parish of St. Cuthbert's, and of the ground on which they were authorized to build the future burgh of the Canongate. The canons were also endowed with the Barony of Broughton, now a north-eastern suburb of Edinburgh, on which, near the Water of Leith, were subsequently erected the village and mills still called the Canonmills; the lands of Inverleith, now the parish of North Leith, the chapel of Corstorphine, with thirty-six acres, and the chapel of Libberton, with thirty acres, which then belonged to St. Cuthbert's church, in the vicinity of the city; the church of Airth, on the south side of the Forth in the county of Stirling, also a salt-pan and twenty-six acres in the said parish; the villages and lands of Pittendreich, Fordam, and Hamer; an hospital, with a plough of land and a perpetual annuity of forty shillings out of the town of Edinburgh; for supplying the canons with apparel, one hundred shillings out of the petty tithes of Perth from the first duties payable to the King, out of the first merchant ship which arrives at Perth, and if none arrive, the sum of forty shillings out of his revenues in Edinburgh; also forty shillings out of Perth, with a house in Edinburgh free of customs and duties; twenty shillings, with a house, and the draught of a poking net, out of Stirling; a house in the town of Berwick; another in Renfrew, with a rood or fourth part of an acre, a draught of a net for salmon, and a herring fishery; a draught of two nets in Scyppwell; as much wood as the canons required from the royal forests in the counties of Stirling and Clackmannan; one half of the tallow, lard, and hides of animals slaughtered in Edinburgh; the tithes of "whales and sea-monsters," and of all "pleas and profits" from the river Avon, which chiefly separates the county of Stirling from that of Linlithgow, including the whole coast of the Frith of Forth to Coldbrandspath, or Cockburnspath, on the coast of the German Ocean in Berwickshire; the half of the "pleas and profits" of Kintyre and Argyll; the skins of all the rams, sheep, and lambs, which die naturally, belonging to the royal castle of Linlithgow; eight chalders of malt, eight of meal, and thirty cart-loads of brushwood from Libberton, and one of the mills of the Dean near Edinburgh, with the tenths of the mills of Libberton and Dean, and those of the King's new mill at Edinburgh and Craighendmark, to be held in free and perpetual alms.—Hamer is one of the three ancient parishes of Tynninghame, Hamer, and Aldham; forming the present united parish of Whitekirk and Tynninghame in Haddingtonshire. The church of Hamer had been long known as Whitekirk, from the appearance of the edifice. When Edward III.

customs from them; the canons, their vassals and servants, were to be exempted from all tolls or duties; and even their swine were to be free from "pannage," or from duties charged for feeding in the royal or other woods. The burgesses of the Canongate, under the canons, were to have the liberty of buying and selling goods and merchandise without molestation; and no bread, ale, or vendible commodity, was to be taken without their consent. The Abbot of Holyrood was also entitled to hold his courts of regality in as "full, free, and honourable manner" as the Bishops of St. Andrews, and the Abbots of Dunfermline and Kelso, enjoyed their courts.¹

The Abbey of Holyrood received an increase of property and revenue by a charter of William the Lion, granted between 1172 and 1180, and the churches and chapels in Galloway, which belonged to the monastery of Icolmkill or Iona, with all their "tithes and ecclesiastical benefices," exclusive of several churches in Fife and other counties, were assigned to the canons. The first Abbot was the founder's confessor, Alwin, who resigned the abbacy in 1150, and is said to have died in 1155. He was succeeded by Osbert, whose death occurred in 1150, the year of his promotion, and whose name is not in the list of Abbots in the old Ritual-Book. William was Abbot in 1152, and is a frequent witness to charters during the reign of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion. During Abbot William's rule, Fergus Lord of Galloway became a canon of the Abbey. The successor of William was Robert, who lived also in the reign of William the Lion, and this Abbot granted to the inhabitants of the new burgh of the Canongate various privileges, which were confirmed, with additional benefactions, by David II., Robert III., James II., and James III.

The fifth Abbot of Holyrood was John, who presided over the monastery in 1173. He was witness to a charter of Richard Bishop of St. Andrews, granting to the canons of Holyrood the church of Haddington, with the lands of Clerkington. About this time, according to Fordun, the canons still resided in Edinburgh Castle, and in 1177, Vibian, Cardinal Presbyter and Apostolic Legate, convened the Scottish bishops in that Fortress, confirming many ancient canons, and enforcing new ecclesiastical enactments. In 1189, however, an assembly of the Scottish bishops, rectors of churches, nobility, and barons, was held in the monastery of Holyrood, which seems to have been the first meeting of any importance congregated within its walls. This was occasioned by the celebrated Cœur-de-Lion, who had invited William the Lion to his court at Canterbury, restoring Scotland to its independence, ordering the boundaries of the two kingdoms to be re-established as recognised at the captivity of the Scottish king, and granting him full possession of all his fees in the Earldom of Huntingdon and elsewhere, on the former existing conditions. It was agreed in this convention at Holyrood that William the Lion was to pay 10,000 merks for this restitution—a sum supposed to be equivalent to 100,000*l.* sterling of the present day.² Though the clergy contributed their share of this sum, they reimbursed themselves to a certain degree by imposing a kind of capitation tax on their tenants, which was so heavy as to induce some of them to elude payment by leaving their places of residence.³

The successor of John, as Abbot of Holyrood, was William; and during his time, in 1206, John Bishop of Galloway relinquished his episcopal function, and became one of the canons. He was interred in the church, and a stone recording his name and dignity was placed over his grave. The next Abbot was Walter, Prior of Iona, who was appointed in 1210, and died in 1217. His successor was William, whose retirement is only recorded. He was succeeded by another William, who, in 1227, on account of old age and the burden of his duties, resigned the Abbacy, and retired to the island of Inchkeith, in the Frith of Forth, as a recluse; but after a residence there of nine weeks he returned to the monastery as a private monk. The next Abbot was Helias, or Elias, described as the son of Nicolas a priest—pleasant, devout, and affable, and who was interred in St. Mary's chapel, behind the great altar. He drained off the water in the lands round Holyrood, by which

invaded Scotland, in 1356, the sailors who attended him on land plundered the church of Hamer or Whitekirk of a statue of the Virgin and other valuables. The canons of Holyrood who resided there were unable to prevent this profanation, and they are alleged to have invoked the Virgin Mary so successfully that a furious storm made them repent of their temerity.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Haddingtonshire*, p. 39.

¹ All this is witnessed or attested by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, John, Bishop of Glasgow, Henry "my son," William "my nephew," Edward the Chancellor, Herbert the Treasurer, Gillemichael (Earl,) Gospatrick, brother of Delphin, Robert Montague, Robert de Burnville, Peter de Bruce, Norman (Vice-Comes,) Oggu Leising, Gillise,

William de Graham, Turstan de Crectunc, Blemus the Archdeacon, Ælfrie the Chaplain, and Walteran the Chaplain.—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, p. 6; Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, folio, pp. 154-147.

² Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132, 133. Father Hay, however, states that the sum was 5000 merks—"quinque millia marcarum."—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, Preface, p. xxii.

³ Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 132, 133. His lordship, however, alleges that "the quantum" of the aid granted to William the Lion "was ascertained in a convention of some sort at Musselburgh."

the monastery was rendered more salubrious, and he surrounded the cemetery with a brick wall. Helias was succeeded by Henry, who was consecrated Bishop of Galloway in 1253, after the death of Gilbert, Bishop of that see, though he was not consecrated till 1255.¹ Ralf, or Radulph, was appointed Abbot on the removal of Henry to the see of Galloway. On the 14th of January, 1155, in the reign of Alexander III., an assembly was held at Holyrood, in which the King, with advice of his magnates, settled a dispute between David de Loucher, sheriff of Perth, and the Abbey of Dunfermline.²

At the end of the thirteenth century, during the disastrous wars of the succession to the Scottish crown, the Abbot of Holyrood, who had succeeded Ralf, was Adam, an adherent of the English party. He did homage to Edward I. on the 8th of July, 1291, and in the following month the national records were placed under his care. This Abbot was named one of the commissioners appointed by the English King to examine the records, in his letter to Radulphus Basset de Drayton, governor of Edinburgh Castle, and others, regarding the appointment of commissioners for investigating the Scottish records preserved in that Fortress.³ Adam was Abbot in 1310, four years before which an order had been granted for the restoration of the Abbey lands by the English monarch, and it is alleged that he went to France—that he was a sufferer in the cause of Bruce—and that he returned to Scotland after the battle of Bannockburn, with a poetical encomium on Bruce.⁴

The successor of Abbot Adam was another Helias, or Elias, who is mentioned in a transaction connected with William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, and Gervase, Abbot of Newbattle, in 1316. Six years afterwards, in 1322, the Abbey of Holyrood was dilapidated and plundered by the army of Edward II.,⁵ but the indignities then perpetrated on the monastery are not minutely recorded. The Abbot in 1326 was Symon, supposed to have been Symon de Wedale. On the 8th of March that year, King Robert Bruce held a Parliament in the Abbey, in which was ratified a concord between Randolph Earl of Moray, afterwards Regent, and Sir William Oliphant, in connexion with the forfeiture of the lands of William de Monte Alto;⁶ and it is probable that the Parliaments of the 28th of February and the 17th of March, 1327, assembled in the same place. A Parliament of a different description was held in the Abbey on the 10th of February, 1333-4, when Edward Baliol rendered homage to Edward III. of England, as Lord of Scotland. Sir Geoffrey Scrope, Chief-Justice of England, appeared at the bar of this Parliament, which was composed of those Anglo-Scots who had been gained by bribery, with a few who preferred Baliol's claim to the crown to that of David II., the son of King Robert Bruce; and, in the name of Edward III., as Lord-Superior of Scotland, required Baliol, whom he designated "King," to perform all the "pactions, agreements, contracts, and promises between them."

The successor of Abbot Symon was John, whose name occurs as a witness to three charters in 1338; and Bartholomew was Abbot in 1342. He was succeeded by Thomas, who was Abbot in 1347. On the 8th of May, 1366, a council was held at Holyrood, in which a treaty of peace with England was discussed, a new coinage was ordered, and a voluntary assessment was sanctioned for the ransom of David II., who had been taken prisoner at the defeat of the Scottish army near Durham, in 1346, when the Cross designated the "Black Rood" of Holyrood, fell into the hands of the English, as already mentioned in this narrative.⁷ In 1370, King David II., who returned to Scotland in 1358, died in the Castle of Edinburgh, and was buried near the high altar in the Abbey church. John of Gaunt was hospitably entertained in Holyrood in 1381, when he was compelled to seek refuge in Scotland from his enemies. The Abbey was burned in 1385 by Richard II., when he invaded Scotland, and encamped at Restalrig, but it appears to have been soon repaired. Henry IV. generously spared the monastery in 1400, on account of the kindness of the Abbot and canons to

¹ Bishop Keith, in his Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops (4to. Edin. 1755, p. 162), says, that Abbot Henry of Holyrood was consecrated to the see of Galloway by Walter Archbishop of York; but the Chronicon de Lanercost, cited in "Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis," (Preface, p. xxv.,) alleges that he was consecrated by the Bishop of Durham. The Archbishop of York in 1255 was Walter de Gray, Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop of Durham was Walter de Kirkham. Hence, probably, the mistake of the name.

² Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, folio, 1844, vol. i. p. 61. In this most elaborate volume is a list of articles found in a chest in the dormitory of Holyrood.

³ Ibid. vol. i. p. 4.

⁴ Dempster, however, designates him "Alexander Montgomerius,

canonicus Lateranensis, Abbas S. Crucis sub Monte Doloroso."—Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, sive de Scriptoribus Scotis, 4to Edin. 1829, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, vol. ii. p. 475.

⁵ Rymer's Fœdera, folio, vol. iii. p. 1022.

⁶ Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 123-127.

⁷ This cross, which was that of the saintly founder of Holyrood, and had delivered him from the attack of the infuriated hart, is prominently noticed in the list of ornaments, plate, relics, and other valuables, in Edinburgh Castle in 1391.—Indentura de Munimentis captis in Thesaurario de Edinburgh; per Preceptum Regis Angliæ, apud Berewyk, Anno Domini Millesimo cc.lxxxxi. (1291.)—Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, folio, 1844, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

his father, John of Gaunt. The successor of Thomas was John, who was Abbot in January 1372. The next Abbot was David, who held the Abbey in 1383, in the reign of Robert II. Dean John of Leith was Abbot in 1386, and must have been in possession for a number of years, as he was a party to the indenture of the lease of the Canonmills to the burgh of Edinburgh, on the 12th of September, 1423. Six years afterwards, in 1429, a singular spectacle was witnessed in the Church of Holyrood. Alexander Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, who had offended James I. by ravaging the crown lands near Inverness, suddenly appeared in the church, on the eve of a solemn festival, in presence of the King, his Queen, and Court, which was frequently held in the Abbey. The Earl was almost in a state of nudity, and holding a naked sword by the point in his hand, which he surrendered, he fell on his knees, and implored the royal clemency. His life was spared, but he was committed a close prisoner to Tantallon Castle, under the charge of the Earl of Angus.¹

Patrick was Abbot of Holyrood in September 1435. On the 25th of March, 1438, James II., who had been born in the Abbey, and was then little more than seven years old, was crowned in the church of Holyrood.² A similar ceremony was performed in the same place in July 1449, when Mary, daughter of Arnold Duke of Gueldres, and Queen of James II., was crowned.

On the 26th of April, 1450, the Abbot of Holyrood was James, of whom nothing is known. Ten years afterwards, the body of James II., who was killed by the bursting of one of the rudely constructed cannon of that age at the siege of Roxburgh Castle, was brought to Holyrood and interred. About the period of the death of James II., Archibald Crawford,³ who had succeeded Abbot James, probably in 1457, rebuilt the church of the Abbey in the style of which the nave known as the Chapel-Royal is the only interesting memorial. It is said that he erected the church from the foundation, and consequently none of the original pile, commenced in 1128 by David I., exists. The church erected by Abbot Crawford was, when entire, a large and splendid edifice in the form of a cross; and though the outlines of the transepts, choir, and Lady Chapel, have disappeared, the roofless nave conveys some idea of the ancient splendour of the entire edifice. The grand entrance was by the magnificent doorway on the west front, which was flanked on each side by a massive square tower, the north one of which still remains, but the south tower was either destroyed when the Abbey was demolished by the Earl of Hertford, or was removed to make way for the buildings of the Palace. The prevailing styles are those of the Norman, the second Gothic, the third or florid Gothic, and the Mixed. On the exterior of some of the buttresses on the north side are carved the arms of Abbot Crawford.

During the incumbency of Abbot Crawford, on the 10th of July, 1468, the Princess Margaret, then in her thirteenth year, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark, was married to James III., and crowned in the church of Holyrood amid great rejoicings. The successor of Abbot Crawford was Dean Robert Bellenden, who, according to his namesake and probable relative, held the Abbacy sixteen years. In addition to his benevolence to the poor, it is stated that he was at the expense of the great bells, the font, twenty-four caps of gold and silk, a chalice of fine gold, several of silver, and an eucharist, and he covered the roof with lead; nevertheless the Abbot was not popular with the brethren, and he resigned the appointment, assuming to his death the habit of an ordinary monk.⁴ Bellenden was one of the commissioners for settling a truce with England in 1486, and he was Abbot on the 13th of September, 1498.

The Abbot in 1515, two years after the fatal battle of Flodden, was George Crichton, Lord Privy Seal, promoted to the Bishopric of Dunkeld in 1522. William Douglas, prior of Coldingham, was the successor of Bishop Crichton, and is mentioned as such in a charter dated 17th December, 1527. The next Abbot was Robert Cairncross, provost of the collegiate church of Corstorphine, and chaplain to James V. He was Lord High Treasurer in 1528 and 1537, and lost it in March 1538-9, when he vacated the Abbey for the See of Ross, which he held with the Abbey of Fearn till his death in November 1545.

Abbot Cairncross was the last ecclesiastic of the ancient hierarchy who presided over Holyrood, and we

¹ Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland, 8vo. 1836, p. 37.

² A contemporary chronicler thus records the coronation of the youthful sovereign,—“1436, Wes the coronacioun of King James the Secund, with the red scheik (cheek), callit *James with the fyr in the face*, he beand bot sax years auld and ane half, in the Abbey of Halyrudhous, quhair now his banys lyes.”—Chronicle at the end of Winton MS. cited in “*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*,” Preface, p. xlix.

³ Abbot Crawford was a son of Sir William Crawford of Haining,

and had been Prior of Holyrood. He was one of the commissioners sent to treat with the English at Coventry for a truce, in 1459, and from that year till 1474 he was repeatedly employed in numerous treaties. In the latter year he was constituted Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and he died in the beginning of 1483.

⁵ The History and Chronicles of Scotland, written in Latin by Hector Boece, translated by John Bellenden, Archdean of Moray and Canon of Ross, 4to. Edin. 1821, vol. ii. pp. 298, 299.

have thus a succession of twenty-eight of those dignitaries from the foundation of the Abbey, in 1128, to 1538 or 1539, when Abbot Cairncross was promoted to the Bishopric of Ross. Robert, an illegitimate son of James V. by Euphemia Elphinstone, obtained a grant of the Abbey while an infant, and his exchange of it with Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, for the temporalities of that see, is subsequently noticed.

We are now arrived at the date of the foundation of the Royal Palace of Holyrood, for, though the monastery was a favourite residence of the Scottish kings when in Edinburgh, the history of the Abbey is distinct from that of the Palace. Though the reputed founder is said to have been James V., the edifice was commenced by his father, James IV. The precise year in which the Palace was begun cannot be ascertained, all the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for the years preceding 1501 having been irretrievably lost, but the edifice was in progress under the superintendence of "Maister Leonard Logy."¹ While the erection of the Palace was proceeding, an English princess, from whom were to descend a long and illustrious line of sovereigns of the British Empire, entered as an affianced bride within the portals of Holyrood, and doubtless the new Palace would be duly prepared for her reception.² This was in 1503, when the Princess Margaret and her train of English nobles first entered the metropolis of her future husband, James IV., and was received with that respect due to the royal daughter of Henry VII. The "Fyancells"³ of the Princess in the royal manor of Richmond, on the 25th of January, 1502, her departure from England, her journey into Scotland, reception, and marriage, are minutely narrated by John Younge, Somerset Herald, who was one of the official attendants.⁴ James IV., accompanied by sixty of the nobility, met his royal bride at Dalkeith. On the morning of the 7th of August the Princess proceeded to Edinburgh, and the King received her half-way, attended by a numerous cavalcade. The King leaped into the saddle of the Princess's palfrey, placing her close behind him, and in this manner they entered Edinburgh, amid rejoicings and fantastic pageants, a fountain of wine, which was free to all, playing at the Cross, and the windows of the houses gorgeously ornamented with tapestry. They were met at the church of Holyrood by the Bishop of St. Andrews,⁵ his cross carried before him, attended by the Bishop of Aberdeen, Lord Privy Seal,⁶ the Bishops of Orkney, Caithness, Ross, Dunblane, and Dunkeld,⁷ and a number of Abbots in their pontificals, and the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood, in rich vestments preceded by their Cross. The whole cavalcade dismounted, and entered the church in procession. Having performed their devotions, the King led the Princess out of the church, through the cloister, to her apartments in the Palace. After a brief space, the Princess was led by the King into the great hall, where she was introduced to a numerous company of Scottish ladies of rank, each of whom she kissed, the Bishop of Moray⁸ attending her, and telling her their names. The King supped in his own chamber, with a number of the English attendants of the Princess, after which he returned to his bride, and indulged for a short time in dancing. The King then retired, bidding her "joyously good night." On the 8th, the nuptials were celebrated in the church, and on the four following days banquets, tournaments, and processions, occupied the assembled guests. And yet, twelve years afterwards, in 1515, this very princess, who was honoured with public shows, feasts, carousals, and dances, at her marriage,⁹ was seen presenting herself to the Regent Albany in her dejected

¹ From the 3d of March, 1501-2, to the 3d of September that year, he received several sums, amounting in all to 319*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* Payments of larger sums to Logie are entered in the Accounts for 1502, 1503, and 1504. Other artisans were employed during those years in the erection or embellishment of the New Palace, which then received the designation of Holyrood-house, as distinct from, though closely connected with, the Abbey of Holyrood. The progress of the erection of the Palace in 1504 is ascertained from various documents. On the 10th of September that year is "a precept maid to Maister Leonard Logy for his gude and thankful service done and to be done to the Kingis Hienes, and speciallie for his diligent and grete laboure maid be him in the bigging of the Palace beside the Abbay of the Haly Croce, of the soume of forty poundis of the usual money of the realme, to be paid to him of the Kingis cofferis yerlie for all the dayis of his life, or quhill he be benefitt of ane hundereth merks." The chimneys of the Palace were finished in 1504, and the tower is noticed as completed in 1505.—*Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis*, Preface, pp. vi. vii. viii.

² It appears from the Lord Treasurer's Account Book, that Holyrood was the principal residence of James IV. In the years 1502, 1503, 1504, and 1505, various payments to tradesmen are recorded.

³ Such was the value of money at the time, that the sister of Henry VIII. could produce as her marriage-portion only 10,000*l.*, her jointure in case of widowhood was 2000*l.*, and her annual allowance as Queen-Consort was 1000*l.*

⁴ Leland's *Collectanea*, edited by Hearne, 8vo. London, 1770, vol. iv. pp. 258-300.

⁵ James Duke of Ross, and Archbishop of St. Andrews, was the second son of James III., and the second brother of James IV. He died in 1504, at least the see was vacant in 1505.

⁶ The illustrious William Elphinstone, founder of King's College and University in Old Aberdeen, the cathedral seat of the bishopric.

⁷ Apparently Edward Stuart, who was Bishop of Orkney in 1516, Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, John Fraser, Bishop of Ross, James Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, and George Brown, Bishop of Dunkeld.

⁸ Andrew Foreman, already mentioned, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrews.

⁹ Some of the internal decorations of the Palace of Holyrood are mentioned by the loyal English herald. The hangings, or tapestry, of the "Great Chamber" represented the "history of Troy town," and "in the glassyn windowes were the Armes of Scotland and England

consort's Palace of Holyrood, "sore weeping," and in vain requesting mercy for Lord Drummond, the maternal grandfather of her second husband, the Earl of Angus, who had been committed to Blackness Castle, and for Gawin Douglas, afterwards Bishop of Dunkeld, then a prisoner in the sea-tower of St. Andrews.

Holyrood was the chief residence of James IV., on the erection and embellishment of which he expended considerable sums, till his death at the fatal battle of Flodden in 1513. In 1515, John Duke of Albany, governor of the kingdom during the minority of James V., resided in Holyrood after his arrival from France, and continued the deceased King's erection of the edifice. He built a tower, subsequently fortified, at the Palace, in which he imprisoned Lord Home in 1515, for joining the party of the Queen-Dowager and her husband the Earl of Angus, and declaring for the English interest.¹ In 1516, Albany erected a "turnpike," or staircase, in the Palace.² Sir John Sharp, one of the chaplains, was at this time keeper of Holyrood, with an annual salary of ten merks, and an occasional allowance for a gown at Christmas. He held this office for upwards of twenty years during the reign of James V.

It is thus evident, that to ascribe the foundation of the Palace of Holyrood to James V. is most erroneous, and yet all the local historians of Edinburgh have adopted this mistake. The Palace, in reality, appears to have been only an occasional residence of James V., who, however, after he assumed the government, authorised the payment of several sums towards its "reparation," or for the completion of the "new work in the Abbey of Halyrudehouse," under the superintendence of John Scrimgeour, master of works. The portions of the Palace erected by James V., or in his reign, are generally understood to be the north-west towers, forming a portion of what are commonly called Queen Mary's apartments, and in the lower part of a niche in one of which could for many years be traced the monarch's name and royal title. Those additions are said to have been superintended by Sir James Hamilton of Finnart, a court favourite, whose life was turbulent, and his death inflicted by the executioner.

On the 26th of July, 1524, James V., then in his thirteenth year, and his mother the Queen-Dowager, suddenly left Stirling, accompanied by a few attendants, and entered Edinburgh, where they were received with rejoicings by the citizens. A procession was formed to Holyrood, and proclamations were issued announcing that the King had undertaken the administration of affairs, though this was not exercised till four years afterwards, when he was in his seventeenth year. During that interval the Queen-Dowager, Archbishop Beaton of St. Andrews, Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Angus, the successor of the Archbishop as Lord Chancellor, were actually, though not in name, the occasional Regents. The latter marked the commencement of his authority by assigning the Abbey of Holyrood in 1524 to his brother William Douglas, who was already the intruding possessor of the Priory of Coldingham, and who retained both till his death in 1528, the year in which James V. began his reign in person. In the month of August 1534, an ecclesiastical court was held in the Abbey of Holyrood, at which James V. was present, clothed in scarlet. James Hay, Bishop of Ross, sat as commissioner for the Archbishop of St. Andrews. Several individuals were cited before this court, some of whom recanted, and performed the ceremony of burning their fagots. The brother and sister of Patrick Hamilton, who had been burned for heresy at St. Andrews, were summoned, but the King privately advised the former to leave Scotland for a time, as he could not protect him; the Bishops, he alleged, having proved to him that heresy was not within his prerogative. The lady, however, appeared, and a long theological discussion ensued between her and Spens of Condie, subsequently Lord Advocate. The King was amused at the zeal of the fair disputant, who was his relative, and his influence saved her from further trouble. Nevertheless, two convictions were pronounced on this occasion. The unfortunate persons were David Straiton, the brother of the Laird of Laurieston in Forfarshire, and a priest named Norman Gourlay. They were led to the stake, on the 27th of August, at the rood or cross of Greenside on the north side of the Calton Hill, and met their fate with constancy and resolution.

On the 1st January, 1536-7, James V. was married to the Princess Magdalene, daughter of Francis I., in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, in the presence of her father and the King of Navarre, several cardinals, and a brilliant assemblage of rank and beauty. On the 19th of May, the eve of Whitsunday, the King and

byparted, with the difference before sayd, to which a chardon and a rose interlaced through a crowne was added." In the King's "Great Chamber" were displayed the "story of Hercules, togeder with other hystorys." The hall in which the Queen's attendants and company were assembled, also contained the history of Hercules on tapestry,

and in both apartments were "grett syerges of wax for to lyght at even."

¹ See the fate of this nobleman in the History of the Castle, p. 8 of the present work.

² Liber Cartarum Sanctæ Crucis, Preface, pp. lxxi. lxxii.



HOLYROOD PALACE.

From an Original Drawing by J. D. Harding

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

his consort landed at Leith, and arrived at the Palace of Holyrood, accompanied by processions and other displays, amid the most enthusiastic acclamations. But disease had undermined the constitution of the young Queen, and within forty days she was consigned a lifeless corpse to the royal vault in the Abbey Church. So intense was the regret of all classes at the untimely death of Queen Magdalene, that it occasioned a general public mourning, and Buchanan, who was an eye-witness, mentions the event as the first instance of such a demonstration in Scotland.

In 1538, the Scottish King assigned several of the richest abbeys and priories to three of his illegitimate children, then infants. Robert, one of them, by Euphemia, a daughter of Lord Elphinstone, was appointed Abbot of Holyrood. By this arrangement the King was enabled to draw the revenues till the nominal possessor arrived at the age of maturity.

The second Queen of James V., Mary of Guise, the mother of Queen Mary, was married to the Scottish King in the cathedral church of St. Andrews in June 1538. Mary of Guise appears to have been seldom at Holyrood; the Palace of Linlithgow, her jointure, having been her favourite residence. This princess, however, was crowned in the Abbey Church, of which some notices occur in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts.¹ After the willing rout of his army on the shore of the Solway Frith, James V. avoided Holyrood on his return, and proceeded to Falkland, where he expired on the 14th of December, 1542.²

The first great calamity which befell the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood was in 1543, when both were plundered and considerably injured by the English during the Earl of Hertford's invasion. In this expedition, Sir Richard Lee, Knight, the "Master of the Pioneers," carried away a brazen font, supposed to have been the one erected by Abbot Bellenden, which he placed, with an inflated Latin inscription, in the church of St. Alban's, where it remained till it was sold and destroyed in the Civil Wars.³ According to the authority cited by Sir Walter Scott,⁴ the entire Abbey of Holyrood was destroyed or dilapidated, except the body of the Church, and the north-west towers of the Palace. Whatever was the extent of the injury which the building then sustained, it was speedily repaired, only to be more effectually demolished a second time during the expedition of the Protector Somerset, after the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, when Sir Walter Bonham and Edward Chamberlain obtained license to "suppress" the Abbey, and at their first visitation they found that the monks had fled. The roofs of the Abbey Church and of most of the monastery were amply covered with lead, which the English seized, and they carried off two bells. The third calamity which befell the Abbey was at the Reformation, when it was spoiled by the mob, and the Palace was plundered on the 29th of June, 1559. The fate of the monks is not known.⁵

The history of the Monastery of Holyrood terminates at the Reformation, before which era the canons had been dispersed, their residences destroyed, and their church dilapidated.⁶ The subsequent events are connected

¹ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 299-301.

² Some notices of the residence of James V. at Holyrood occur in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts, and from these it appears that a private chapel in the Palace was unconnected with the Abbey church. A "pair of organs" were purchased in January 1541-2; and Sir David Murray of Balvaire, Knight, received 400*l.* on the 24th of that month, "in recompence of his lands of Duddingstone tane in to the new park besyde Halyrudhowis."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I.

³ The inscription is thus rendered—"When Leith, a town of good account in Scotland, and Edinburgh, the principal city of that nation, was on fire, Sir Richard Lea, Knight, saved me out of the flames, and brought me into England. In gratitude to him for his kindness, I, who heretofore served only at the baptism of the children of kings, do now most willingly offer the same service even to the meanest of the English nation. Lea, the conqueror, hath so commanded. Adieu! A.D. 1543, in the 26th year of King Henry VIII." "The victor's spoil," observes Sir Walter Scott, "became the spoil of rebellious regicides, for during the Civil Wars this sacred emblem of conquest was taken down, sold for its weight, and ignobly destroyed; nor would the memory of Sir Richard Lee's valour have survived, but for the diligence of an accurate antiquarian."—*Border Antiquities of England and Scotland*, 4to. vol. i. p. 77.

⁴ Kincaid's History of Edinburgh, 12mo. 1784, Appendix, No. XXIV. p. 327.

⁵ One of them, named John Brand, conformed to the Reformation, and is designated "Minister of Holyroodhouse," which means the

present parish of the Canongate. He married, and had a son, who perished by the hands of the executioner at the Cross of Edinburgh for killing William King, an illegitimate son of a lawyer named James King, on St. Leonard's Hill, opposite Salisbury Crags. On the 20th of May, 1615, he was condemned to be beheaded. He is designated "John Brand, student in the College of Philosophie of Edinburgh, sone to umquhill John Brand, Minister at Halyrudhouse."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 360.

⁶ The "Calendar and Ritual Book of Holyrood" are in the possession of Mr. Pringle of Whytbank, forming a large folio volume of 132 leaves of thick vellum in oak boards, covered with stamped leather, resembling the binding of the sixteenth century. This curious memorial of the Canons of Holyrood consists of three principal parts—a Calendar, a Martyrology, and a Ritual. As none of the Scottish Saints are commemorated, and even the name of the founder is omitted, it is conjectured that the Calendar was not constructed for Holyrood, or any other Scottish Church; while in a comparatively modern hand, apparently of the sixteenth century, are inserted two festivals,—on the 19th of June, after the patrons of the day—*Sanctorum Gervasii et Prothasii Martyrum*, are written *Margarete Regine*; and on the 13th of October, in faint ink, and in imitation of the older writing—*Dedicatio Ecclesie—prime dignitatis*. The Martyrology, to which the Calendar has no reference, is for the whole year, omitting the great Feasts, and is followed by lessons and prayers for particular Sundays and Festivals, and the Rule of the Order of St. Augustine, the patron of the Canons-Regular. The *Historia Miraculose Foundationis*, printed in the second

with the Palace, and with that portion of the Abbey Church (afterwards known as the Chapel-Royal) which was for a century and a half used as the parish church of the Canongate. Though the convent, during each successive reign from that of David I., obtained numerous immunities, grants, and revenues, which rendered it one of the most opulent religious houses in Scotland, its annual rental, as stated at the Reformation, was only about 250*l.* sterling in money, exclusive of property; but the other sources of income were valuable, consisting of payments of victual, fowls, fish, salt, and various emoluments.¹

The Palace became the ordinary residence of Queen Mary after her return from France in 1561, and here occurred those events in her tragical career which connect her life with Holyrood, and invest its melancholy apartments with absorbing interest. As characteristic of the times, the windows seem to have been secured like a prison, and the marks of the iron bars are still visible on the outside of some of the windows of the Queen's chambers. Mary landed at Leith, as the youthful Dowager of France, on the morning of the 19th of August, 1561, accompanied by her three uncles, the Duke D'Aumale, the Marquis D'Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior of France, who was the commander of the galleys, Monsieur D'Anville, the heir of the Constable Montmorency, and several French gentlemen of inferior rank. The Queen rode direct to Edinburgh in a kind of rude procession, and passed through the city to Holyrood. Mary's "honourable reception" at Leith by the Earl of Argyll, Lord Erskine, Lord James Stuart, and others, who conveyed her to Holyrood, is mentioned by contemporary writers; and Knox records the "fires of joy set furth at night," and a concert with which she was regaled under her "chamber window"—the "melodie of which," as she alleged, "lyked her weill, and she willed the same to be continued some nychts efter with great diligence." But Dufresnoy, one of Mary's attendants, thought very differently of this display, and more especially of the music of the Scottish minstrels. He relates that the Queen rode on horseback from Leith to Edinburgh, and the "lords and ladies who accompanied her upon the little wretched hackneys of the country as wretchedly caparisoned, at sight of which the Queen began to weep, and to compare them with the pomp and superb palfreys of France. But there was no remedy except patience. What was worst of all, when arrived at Edinburgh, and retired to rest in the Abbey, which is really a fine building, and not at all partaking of the rudeness of that country, there came under her window a crew of five or six hundred scoundrels from the city, who gave her a serenade with wretched violins and little rebecks, of which there are enough in that country, and began to sing psalms so miserably mistimed and mistuned, that nothing could be worse. Alas! what music, and what a night's rest!"

The only person of distinction waiting to receive Mary was Lord Robert Stnart, one of her illegitimate brothers already mentioned, whose residence as Commendator was within the precincts of the Palace. The Queen went to his house, and issued orders to assemble the nobility, who had been previously summoned to meet on the last day of that month.² Probably Lord Robert's house was the only one suitable for her temporary reception, for, though the Queen brought her jewels with her, her tapestry and other furniture

volume of the BANNATYNE MISCELLANY, is the next article, and to this succeed an imperfect entry of the foundation of the Priory of St. Mary's Isle (called *de Traill*) near Kirkcudbright, which is also printed with the *Miraculosa Fundacio*, a very imperfect list of the Abbots, and a formulary and ritual for the great Festivals, with minute directions for ornamenting the church, and for processions and other ceremonies. Then follow *Tempora feriandi—ne Judaismo capiantur, de Festivitatibus prime dignitatis, de Festis secunde dignitatis, de Honore Sancte Crucis, de Duplicibus Festis, de Festis Communibus, de Festis novem lectionum, de Privatis Festis trium lectionum, Ordo ad visitandum Infirmum*, the Service for the Dead, and Funeral Service, *Commemoratio animarum, Benedictio carniū et ovorum, super butirum et caseum—ad omnia que volueris—super cibum et potum*, which are a series of graces, a service *pro Itinerantibus*, a Litany in a modern hand, an *Inventarium Jocalium, Vestimentorum, et Ornamentorum Magni Altaris et Vestibuli Monasterii Sancte Crucis*, in October, 1493, printed in the BANNATYNE MISCELLANY; and on a leaf after the Calendar are forms of excommunication for theft, and of absolution from that sentence. It is difficult to determine the age of this volume, which was evidently written at different times, and is in the large square character suited for the altar. The following is the prayer which was said daily for the benefactors of the Monastery, in which it is curious not to find the name of William the Lion—"Propicietur clementissimus Deus animabus regum David,

Malcolmi, Alexandri, David, Roberti, Jacobi, et comitum Henrici et David, et animabus episcoporum, abbatum, confratrum, patrum, matrum, fratrum, et sororum nostrarum congregationum, parentum, et amicorum nostrorum defunctorum, et animabus Fergusii, Vchtrei, Rollandi, et Alani, et animabus omnium defunctorum tribuatque eis pro sua pietate vitam eternam, Amen." This prayer was written in the reign of the first James; and a preceding prayer for that monarch, his Queen, *et liberos eorum*, indicates that it was composed after his return from England. This volume of the "Calendar and Ritual of Holyrood" is supposed to be the "Martyrologium" quoted by Father Hay.—*Liber Cartarum Sancte Crucis*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, Preface, pp. cxxxiii–cxxxvi.

¹ Those payments were estimated at 442 bolls of wheat, 610 bolls of bere, 560 bolls of oats, 200 capons, two dozen of hens, two dozen of salmon, twelve loads of salt, and a number of swine. The Canons of Holyrood had right of fattening their hogs in the extensive tracts now forming the finely cultivated parish of Duddingstone, between Arthur's Seat and the Frith of Forth. See the rental of Holyrood Abbey in Keith's "History of the Affairs of the Church and State in Scotland," folio, Appendix, p. 186. It is therein stated that the money amounted to 2926*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* Scots.

² Hardwicke's Miscellaneous State Papers, 4to. London, 1778, vol. i. p. 176: Cecil to Throgmorton, 26th August, 1561.

were not delivered till some days afterwards, and her horses were detained at Berwick. The mortification she was compelled to endure on account of her religion was manifested on the first Sunday after her arrival at Holyrood, which was St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th of August. Due preparations were made to celebrate mass in the Chapel-Royal, at which the Queen was to be present, and no sooner was this known than a mob rushed towards the edifice, exclaiming—"Shall the idol be again erected in the land?" Men of rank encouraged this riot, and Lord Lindsay, with some gentlemen of Fife, pressed into the court of the Palace, shouting—"The idolatrous priests shall die the death!" The Queen, astonished and trembling, implored another illegitimate brother, Lord James Stuart, then Prior of St. Andrews, who was in attendance, to allay the tumult. With the utmost difficulty, notwithstanding his popularity, he succeeded in some measure in so doing; and, under the excuse of preventing the contamination of the assailants by the sight of "idolatry," he placed himself at the door of the Chapel, at the hazard of his life restraining the fury of the mob. Though the service was continued in quietness, at its conclusion new disorders were excited.

On the 31st of August, a banquet was given to Mary and her relatives by the city of Edinburgh, and on the 2d of September the Queen made her public entry, and was entertained in the Castle, as narrated in the history of the Fortress.¹ On the latter day John Knox had an audience of Mary, who had been informed of a sermon he had preached against the mass on the preceding Sunday in St. Giles' Church, and who seems to have supposed that a personal conference would mitigate his sternness. Knox presented himself at Holyrood, and when admitted into the presence of Mary, he found only Lord James Stuart in attendance. The interview commenced by the Queen accusing him for his treatise on the government of queens,² and his intolerance towards every one who differed from him in opinion, and she requested him to obey the precepts of the Scriptures, a copy of which she perceived on his person, desiring him to "use more meekness in his sermons." Knox, in reply, "knocked so hastily upon her heart that he made her weep."³ Such were the agitation, fear, and disquietude of the Queen, that Lord James Stuart attempted to soothe her feelings, and to soften the language she had heard. Amid tears of anguish and indignation, she said to Knox—"My subjects, it would appear, must obey you, and not me. I must be subject to them, not they to me." After some further altercation, in which Knox certainly comported himself with great boldness, he was dismissed from the royal presence; and when asked his opinion of the Queen by some of his friends, he said, "If there be not in her a proud mind, a crafty art, and obdurate heart against God and his Word, my judgment faileth me; and this I say with a grieved heart, for the good I wish unto her, and by her, to the church and state."⁴ Though Knox and Buchanan repeatedly mention the profligacy of Mary's court at this time, it appears to be without any sufficient reason; but it must be confessed that the pastimes occasionally exhibited at Holyrood were not the most dignified. One of these occurred on a Sunday in December 1561, in presence of the Queen, when Lord Robert Stuart, his half-brother Lord John Stuart, both abbots—the one of Holyrood, the other of Coldingham, the Marquis D'Elbeuf, and others, to the number of six on each side, disguised, the one half like women, and the others in masks, performed a game at the ring, in which the party in female habiliments, headed by Lord Robert, were the victors; and yet this same Lord Robert had cruelly beaten one of the priests who officiated in the Chapel-Royal on Halloween Eve, or All Saints' Day, and it was proposed to allow none to attend the Queen at divine service, under "pain of confiscation of goods and lands," except those who came with her from France.

The avocations and amusements of Mary at Holyrood about this period are prominently recorded. After dinner she read Livy and other histories with George Buchanan, and she had a library, two globes, one celestial and the other terrestrial, six geographical charts, and pictures of her mother, her father, her husband Francis II., and the Constable of France. The Queen was a chess-player, and she greatly delighted in hawking, and shooting at the butts. Mary had also two gardens at Holyrood, one on the north and the other on the south side of the Palace. In her household were minstrels and singers, and the first introduction of

¹ See p. 16 of the present Work.

² This was Knox's production, levelled also against Queen Elizabeth and all female sovereigns, entitled—"The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regimen of Women," published in 1557, and printed in his "Historie of the Reformatioun of Religioun in Scotland," folio, Edin. edit. 1732, pp. 468-487.

³ Randolph to Cecil, 7th September, 1561, in Bishop Keith's

"History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland," edition of the SPOTTISWOODE SOCIETY, vol. ii. p. 80; folio edit. p. 189.

⁴ This interesting and characteristic interview is recorded by Knox in his "Historie of the Reformatioun in Scotland," folio, Edin. edit. 1732, pp. 287-292, and is most graphically and minutely detailed by Mr. Tytler in his "History of Scotland." It is also the subject of a splendid picture by Sir William Allan.

Riccio to the Scottish Court was to supply a vacancy among the latter, a bass-singer having been wanted to perform along with the others. In 1561, and in 1562, the Queen had five players on the viol, and three players on the lute. In the Chapel of Holyrood were a "pair of organs," for which, in February 1561-2, the sum of 10*l.* was paid by the Queen's command to William Macdowell, Master of Works, in addition to the sum of 36*l.* paid in February 1557-8, by the Treasurer to David Melville of Leith, who had recovered and carefully preserved them. As respects Mary's feminine avocations, she was sedulously employed at Holyrood with her needle, and tradition often mentions her industrial performances. She was attended in her private apartments by her four Marys—Mary Fleming, Mary Bethune, Mary Livingstone, and Mary Seton; but Mademoiselle de Pinguillon is noticed as her chief lady. In the Palace were a cloth of gold, tapestry, carpets, chairs and stools covered with velvet and adorned with fringes, vessels of glass, and her jewels, a few of which were afterwards secured by legal proceedings for King James VI. by the Regent Morton. No plate is recorded; yet that Mary had silver articles of value, is proved from the fact that they were coined by those who dethroned her, to pay the expenses of their insurrection.

On the 11th of August, 1562, Queen Mary and her retinue left Holyrood on a progress as far north as Inverness. During this journey circumstances occurred which were most disastrous to the Earl of Huntly and his family. Huntly himself fell in an insurrectionary conflict in the vale of Corrichie, nearly twenty miles west of Aberdeen; his body was brought to Edinburgh by sea, and deposited in a vault in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, whence it was removed to the Monastery of the Black Friars, where it continued till it was conveyed to the family tomb at Elgin; and his son, Sir John Gordon, perished on the scaffold in Aberdeen, in presence of Mary, who was a reluctant spectator of a death which was one day to be her own. The Queen returned to Holyrood on the evening of the 21st of November, after an absence of nearly four months, and she was immediately seized with an illness which confined her to her couch six days. On the 10th of January, 1562-3, the Queen again left Holyrood for Castle-Campbell, near the base of the Ochills, to be present at the marriage of Lady Margaret Campbell, sister of the Earl of Argyll, to Sir James Stewart of Doune, then Commendator of St. Colm, in 1581 created Lord Doune. On the 14th Mary returned to Holyrood, where she remained till the 13th of February, having recovered from another illness which seized her after her arrival.

The fate of an individual now presents itself, the first part of whose story was enacted in Holyrood. When Mary arrived from France, a French gentleman named Chatelard, a soldier by profession, handsome in person and of varied accomplishments, came in the train of D'Anville. After residing some time at Holyrood, he returned to France with D'Anville, by whom he was again sent to Scotland with a letter which he delivered to the Queen at Montrose, while on her progress to Edinburgh from the North. The Queen subsequently had long conversations with Chatelard, whose manners were agreeable, and who could talk to her of many of the scenes of her youth in France. He was also enthusiastic in music and poetry, of which the Queen was passionately fond, and he was admitted by her to friendly intercourse, though Knox alleges that it was a tender familiarity. Encouraged by the Queen's favour, Chatelard in an evil hour aspired to Mary's love, and in a fit of amorous frenzy he concealed himself in her bed-chamber at Holyrood, in which he was discovered by her female attendants immediately before she retired for the night. This was on the 12th of February, 1562-3, and it is singular that he had armed himself with a sword and a dagger. Chatelard was expelled by the Queen's attendants, who, not wishing that their royal mistress should be annoyed by this extraordinary and daring circumstance, concealed it from her till the morning. When Mary was informed of Chatelard's presumptuous behaviour, she ordered him instantly to leave the Palace, and never again to appear in her presence. This lenity, however, failed to exercise a proper effect on the infatuated man. On the 13th of February, the Queen left Holyrood for Fife, and Chatelard had the presumption to repeat his offence at Burntisland on the night of the 14th. The household were soon alarmed, and the intruder closely secured by the Earl of Moray. On the second day after this outrage he was tried and condemned at St. Andrews, where he was executed on the 22d of February, 1562-3.

On the 18th of May, 1563, the Queen returned to Holyrood, after an absence of upwards of three months in Fife and the neighbouring counties of Kinross and Perth. This was preparatory to the meeting of the Parliament, which assembled on the 26th of May, and sat till only the 4th of June. Mary rode to the Parliament from Holyrood accompanied by her ladies in court dresses, the Duke of Chatelherault carrying the crown, the Earl of Argyll the sceptre, and the Earl of Moray the sword. The Queen addressed the

Parliament in her native tongue, and if her proficiency in elocution was no better than the specimens of her epistolary correspondence written with her own hand in the common language of the country, her oratory must have been homely enough, though it must be recollected that French was her ordinary mode of intercourse. It appears, however, that this speech, delivered by Mary the first time she ever saw a Parliament, was written in French, and translated and spoken by her in English. The Queen's appearance on this occasion excited the loyal feelings of the citizens, who exclaimed as she passed to and from the Parliament—"God save that sweet face!"¹ On the first day of the Parliament the Queen gave a banquet to a large party of ladies in Holyrood. Mary rode to the Parliament from the Palace three several days.

During the sitting of this Parliament a sermon was preached by Knox in St. Giles' Church, in which he alluded in the most forcible language to the Queen's rumoured marriage. This was soon communicated to Mary, and Knox was again summoned to her presence. Lord Ochiltree² and some of his friends accompanied Knox to the Palace; but John Erskine of Dun, the "Superintendent of Angus and Mearns" under the new system, was the only person admitted with him into the Queen's cabinet. As soon as Mary saw Knox, she exclaimed, weeping, and in great excitement—"Never was prince handled as I am. I have borne with you," she said to Knox, "in all your rigorous manner of speaking both against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favour by all possible means. I offered unto you presence and audience whenever it pleased you to admonish me, and yet I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once avenged." The reply of Knox increased the Queen's anger, and she indignantly asked—"What have you to do with my marriage?" This elicited a definition from Knox of his vocation to preach faith and repentance, and his imperative necessity to teach the nobility and commonwealth their duty. The Queen again asked—"What have ye to do with my marriage, or what are ye in this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same, Madam," was the stern reply; "and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron within it, yet has God made me, how abject soever I may be in your eyes, a profitable member within the same." Erskine of Dun here attempted to soothe the Queen by some complimentary allusions to her personal beauty, the excellence of her disposition, and the admiration expressed for her by all the princes of Europe, who were rivals to gain her favour. Knox stood immovable, and his coolness increased Mary's anger. He urged his conscientious motives, which further offended the Queen, who ordered him to leave the cabinet and remain in the antechamber till her pleasure was intimated. Lord John Stuart, Commendator of Coldingham,³ joined the Queen and Erskine of Dun in the cabinet, in which they remained nearly an hour. During this space, Knox, who was attended by Lord Ochiltree, delivered a religious admonition to the ladies. He retired, accompanied by Erskine, to his residence at the Nether-Bow.

On the 29th of June, 1563, Queen Mary left Holyrood on another progress in the west and south-west of Scotland. While the Queen was at Stirling, and was so far on her return to Edinburgh, a riot occurred at Holyrood, in which Knox was considerably implicated. On Sunday the 8th and 15th of August, the Queen's Roman Catholic domestics wished the exercise of their own religion, and divine service was to be celebrated in the Chapel-Royal. This was known in the neighbourhood, and a "zealous brother" entered the edifice, exclaiming, as a priest was preparing to commence mass—"The Queen's Majesty is not here: how dare you, then, be so malapert as openly to do against the laws?" The Queen's household were so much agitated, that they sent to Wishart of Pitarrow, the comptroller, who happened to be in St. Giles' Church listening to a sermon, requesting him to proceed to Holyrood and protect the Palace. Wishart proceeded thither, accompanied

¹ This is Knox's statement respecting the Queen's "painted oration," as he terms it, to the Parliament. He adds other exclamations which "might have been heard among her flatterers—Vox Dianæ, the voice of a goddess (for it could not be *Dei*), and not of a woman! Was there ever oratour spak so properly and so sweetly?"—*Historie*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 330.

² Andrew Stewart, second Lord Ochiltree, a zealous Reformer, whose second daughter, Margaret, became the second wife of John Knox, by whom she had three daughters. This marriage excited much jocularly at the expense of the lady. Lord Ochiltree's second son was the unprincipled Captain James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, created Earl of Arran, and constituted Lord Chancellor by James VI., killed in 1596 by Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, nephew of the Regent Morton; and his third son, Sir William Stewart of Monkton,

was assassinated by Francis Earl of Bothwell in the Blackfriars' Wynd of Edinburgh in 1588.

³ Lord John Stuart died soon afterwards at Inverness, while holding a justice-court with his illegitimate brothers the Earl of Moray and Lord Robert of Holyroodhouse, in which two witches were condemned to be burnt. Knox alleges, on common report, that on his death-bed he urged the Queen to abandon her "idolatry," and lamented that he had supported her in her "impiety" and "wickedness against God and his servants." Knox adds, that "in very deed grit cause had he to have lamented his wickedness," and records one of his sayings against the preachers, which was—"Or I see the Queen's Majesty so troubled with the railing of these knaves, I shall leave the best of them stickit in the pulpit."—*Historie*, folio, Edin. edit. 1732, p. 335.

by Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, then Provost, the Magistrates, and a numerous party; but the disturbance had ceased before their arrival, and the result of the prosecution of the offenders is not known. Knox was summoned before the Queen and the Privy Council for his interference in this affair, and especially for violating an act of the recent Parliament, which declared all assemblages of the people in towns without the Queen's consent illegal.¹ He denied that he was guilty of seditious or rebellious practices, and entreated the Queen to forsake her "idolatrous religion," at which the Earl of Morton, then Lord Chancellor, told him to "hold his peace and go away."

Mary returned to Holyrood on the 30th of September, and seems to have constantly resided in the Palace during the following winter. In January and February 1563-4, the Queen gave banquets to the nobility, who in turn invited her to be their guest. An event occurred in that year which had a serious influence on her future destiny. This was the return of her relative, Matthew Earl of Lennox, the father of Lord Darnley, from his exile in England. The Earl arrived at Edinburgh on the 8th of September, and was informed that the Queen was then the guest of the Earl of Atholl in Perthshire. He resolved to proceed thither, and went to St. Andrews, where he heard of the Queen's return. The Earl presented himself at Holyrood on the 27th of September, riding to the Palace, preceded by twelve gentlemen splendidly mounted and clothed in black velvet, and followed by thirty attendants bearing his arms and livery.² Either at this or a subsequent interview Lennox gave the Queen "a marvellous fair and rich jewel, a clock, a dial curiously wrought and set with stones, and a looking-glass very richly set with stones in the four metals; also to each of the Marys such pretty things as he thought fittest for them."³ Though Lord Darnley was with his mother, the Countess of Lennox in England, Mary by her conduct sufficiently intimated that she had heard with satisfaction favourable reports of him, and rumour had already selected him as the Queen's husband. A series of festivities was now held in Holyrood, and a grand entertainment given by the Queen on the 12th of November is specially mentioned.

Mary left Holyrood for Fife on the 19th of January, 1564-5, and on the 13th of February she rode to Wemyss Castle, then inhabited by the Earl of Moray. Darnley arrived in Edinburgh on that day, and on the 16th had his first interview with the Queen, by whom he was well received; Sir James Melville, who was present in Wemyss Castle, recording that Mary "took very well" with her visitor. Darnley was then only nineteen years of age, and four years younger than Mary. Repeated outrages on the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood compelled Mary to hasten to Edinburgh, and she arrived at the Palace on the 24th of February.

Darnley was now a regular frequenter of Holyrood, and took part in all the amusements of the Court. On the 26th of February he was entertained at supper by Moray in his house in Croft-an-Righ behind the Palace, where he met the Queen, with whom he danced. Darnley was at this time popular with the citizens of Edinburgh, who considered him good-natured and affable in his behaviour.⁴ At length he proposed marriage to the Queen, which she at first rejected, and even refused a ring which he wished her to accept. The intimacy, however, continued, and the nuptials were finally arranged at Stirling in a meeting of the Privy Council on the 15th of May, 1565, when Darnley was created a Knight, Earl of Ross, and Lord of Ardmanach, his elevation as Duke of Albany having been merely delayed.

The Queen returned to Holyrood on the 4th of July, on the 20th of which month Darnley was created Duke of Albany, the Queen having previously received the approval of her uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine, and also the dispensation of the Pope. Sunday the 29th was the day of this ill-fated marriage, and the place was the same Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. John Sinclair, Dean of Restalrig in the vicinity, and Bishop of Brechin, performed the ceremony, according to the ritual of the Church of Rome, between the hours of five and six in the morning. It has been invariably recorded that Mary on that eventful occasion was attired in mourning, and the dress was that which she wore on the day of her first husband's funeral. Three rings, one

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 543, entitled—"For Staneheing and Suppressing of Tumults within Burrows."

² *Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 77.

³ Randolph to Cecil, MS., State Paper Office, 24th October, 1564, in Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vi. pp. 297, 298. In the same letter it is stated that Lennox presented Maitland of Lethington, then Secretary of State, and the Earl of Atholl, with diamond rings—"as also somewhat" to the Countess of Atholl—"to divers others some-

what, but to my Lord of Moray nothing." It appears, however, that the Countess of Lennox sent a diamond to the Earl of Moray, and Lennox was anxious to conciliate the Privy Council. Moray then resided in the antique tenement on the west side of the alley called Croft-an-Righ, locally Croftangry, behind the Palace, leading from the royal park into the suburb of the Abbey-Hill.

⁴ MS. Letter, State Paper Office, Randolph to Leicester, 19th February, 1564-5, and to Cecil 27th of that month, in Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. vii. pp. 314, 315.

a rich diamond, were placed by Darnley on the Queen's finger, and they knelt together during the prayers. When the ceremony was concluded, Darnley kissed the Queen, and proceeded to her apartments, leaving her to attend mass, which he seems to have purposely avoided. A splendid banquet was given in the Palace in the afternoon, and the entertainments and rejoicings continued three or four days. On the following day the Queen subscribed a proclamation in the Palace, which was published at the Cross of Edinburgh, ordering Darnley to be styled King, though this by no means associated him with her in the government. Mary had soon cause to regret this most imprudent act, which excited the strongest dissatisfaction among the nobility, while Darnley's conduct after his marriage made him numerous enemies. On the 19th of August, when he attended St. Giles' Church, Knox edified him by a sermon against the government of boys and women, meaning him and the Queen.

In the autumn a serious insurrection occurred, in which the Earl of Moray was a conspicuous leader. At this crisis the Earl of Bothwell returned from France, accompanied by David Chalmers of Ormond, who was soon appointed an Ordinary Lord of Session. Bothwell, who had been expelled from Scotland by the power of Moray, was received with marked distinction by the Queen, and was present at a meeting of the Privy Council on the 5th of November. The Queen and Darnley continued to reside in Holyrood during the winter, and about the beginning of February 1565-6, the Seigneur de Remboillet, ambassador from the King of France, arrived to present Darnley with the order of St. Michael, known as the Scallop or Cockle-Shell Order, so called from the scallop shells of which the collar was composed. The investiture was performed after the celebration of mass in the Chapel-Royal, and on the 11th of February the ambassador was invited to a feast, at which the Queen and her ladies thought proper to appear in male apparel, and presented each of the strangers with a "whinger" embroidered with gold.

At this time two conspiracies were in active progress—the dethronement of Mary, and the murder of David Riccio, which latter plot was originally formed by no less personages than Darnley himself and his father, Lennox. Darnley, whose enemies were powerful, was persuaded that Riccio was the sole instigator of those measures which had deprived him of the crown-matrimonial and his share of the government, for which it was too obvious he was utterly incapacitated by his habits, disposition, and imbecility. Mary had painfully discovered that her love was thrown away on one whom it was impossible to treat with confidence and regard, and an unhappy quarrel was soon the result, which the conduct of Darnley rendered every day the less reconcilable. Such was the dreadful condition of the royal inmates of the Palace of Holyrood at this crisis—Darnley the dupe of an absurd delusion—a plot formed against his life—and the ruin of the Queen projected.

Riccio, the immediate victim of the tragedy of Holyrood, was a constant attendant on the Queen in his capacity of French secretary, and resided in the Palace. This unfortunate foreigner, who is described by Sir James Melville as a "merry fellow and a good musician," was born at Turin, in Piedmont, where his father earned a subsistence as a musician, had followed the Piedmontese ambassador into Scotland, and having attracted the notice of Mary, he was in 1561 appointed by her a valet of her chamber. At the dismissal of Raulet, the Queen's French secretary, whom she had brought from France, Riccio was appointed his successor. He appears to have been unpopular from the first, and his officious interferences soon rendered him an object of bitter hatred. As to his personal appearance, he was by no means prepossessing, and indeed it was expressly stated that he was advanced in years and deformed. This was the person against whom Riccio's enemies embraced the opportunity of exciting the weak mind of Darnley to such a degree, that he sent his relative George Douglas, on the 10th of February, to implore Lord Ruthven, in whom he had the greatest confidence, to assist him against the "villain David." Ruthven was then so unwell, that, as he himself says, he was scarcely able to walk the length of his chamber, yet he consented to engage in the murder; but though Darnley was sworn to keep the design secret, Randolph revealed it in a letter to the Earl of Leicester nearly a month before it was perpetrated. In reality, however, the first conspirators against Riccio were the Earl of Morton, Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington, the last ingeniously contriving to make Darnley the patron of the plot, and the dupe of his associates.

The Parliament was opened by the Queen in person, who rode from Holyrood to the Tolbooth, near St. Giles' church, in "wondrous gorgeous apparel," early in March 1565-6. Mary requested Darnley to accompany her on the first day to the Parliament; but he preferred riding to Leith with "seven or aucht horse" to amuse himself. The murder of Riccio soon dispersed the Estates. On the evening of Saturday, the 9th of March, about five hundred persons surrounded Holyrood, the Earl of Morton and Lord Lindsay kept guard without,

and one hundred and sixty men were in the court. Mary was in that portion of the Palace consisting of the north-west towers, in the upper storeys of which are the apartments known by her name. These are reached by the staircase entered from the piazzas in the interior of the north side of the quadrangle, and also by a narrow spiral stair on the north side of the Palace, near the western door of the Chapel-Royal. By this private stair the conspirators were admitted to Darnley's apartments on the first storey. About seven o'clock in the evening the Queen was at supper in a very small room or closet, and with her were the Countess of Argyll and the Commendator of Holyrood-house, her illegitimate sister and brother, Beaton of Cricch, master of the royal household, Arthur Erskine, who commanded her guard, and Riccio. Darnley ascended the above private staircase communicating with the Queen's bed-chamber, as if to join the Queen at supper, and threw up the arras which concealed its opening in the wall. One writer¹ alleges, that Riccio was sitting at a side-table, according to his custom while waiting, when the assassins entered; and another,² that he sat at the table with the Queen. Be this as it may, the closet is so small that the distinction of attitude could be scarcely perceptible. A minute had scarcely elapsed after Darnley went into the closet, when Lord Ruthven, a man of tall stature, and cased in complete armour, abruptly intruded on the party. His features were so sunk and pale from disease, his appearance so repulsive, and his voice so hollow, that the Queen started in terror, and commanded him instantly to leave the closet, while her guests and attendants sat paralysed at his sudden invasion. It is stated that Ruthven, when he entered, merely wished to "speak" to Riccio; but Mary suspected violence, and Ruthven's refusal to depart alarmed the Italian, who crept behind the Queen. An explanation was then demanded from Darnley, who affected ignorance, while he scowled fiercely at the victim. The light of torches now glared in the outer-room, or bed-chamber, a confused noise of voices and weapons was heard, and instantly George Douglas,³ Ker of Fawdonside, and others, crowded into the closet, which must have been completely filled, and the wonder is that so limited an apartment could contain so many persons. Ruthven drew his dagger, fiercely exclaiming to the Queen—"No harm is intended to you, Madam, but only to that villain." He made an effort to seize Riccio, who sheltered himself behind the Queen, and according to some accounts, almost clasped her in his arms in a state of distraction, shouting in a foreign accent—"Justice! justice! save my life, Madam, save my life!"

All was now in disorder, the chairs, table, dishes, and candlesticks, were overturned, and Darnley endeavoured to unloose Riccio's arms from the Queen's person, assuring her she was safe. Ker of Fawdonside presented a pistol to the breast of the Queen, and threatened to destroy her and Riccio if she caused any alarm. While Mary shrieked with terror, and Darnley still held her, Riccio was stabbed over her shoulder by George Douglas with Darnley's own dagger. He was then dragged out of the closet to the entrance of the presence-chamber, where Morton and others rushed on him, and completed the murder, leaving Darnley's dagger in it to show his connexion with the crime. According to the Queen's statement in her letter to Archbishop Beaton, Riccio was despatched by no fewer than fifty-six wounds.⁴

After the murder was perpetrated, Lord Ruthven staggered into the Queen's apartment in a state of exhaustion, and found Mary in terror of her life. He sat down and coolly demanded a cup of wine, which was presented to him. When the Queen reproached him for the dreadful crime he had committed, he not only vindicated himself and his associates, but harrowed her by declaring that her own husband was the contriver. At this moment one of the Queen's ladies rushed into the cabinet, and exclaimed that Riccio was slain, the Queen not having been till then aware of the completion of the murder. Riccio, on the night of the murder, was dressed in a night-gown of furred damask, with a satin doublet, and hose of russet velvet,

¹ Crawford's Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 9.

² Archbishop Spottiswoode's History, p. 194.

³ George Douglas is already mentioned as a relative of Darnley. He was commonly known as the *Postulate Bishop of Moray*—the designation of *Postulate* in Scottish phraseology intimating the appointment or nomination of a person to a Bishopric or Abbey, and he was the *Postulate* of the benefice until he obtained full possession. George Douglas was nominated titular Bishop of Moray in 1573, by his relative the Regent Morton, at the death of Patrick Hepburn, the last consecrated Roman Catholic bishop of the see. He was an illegitimate son of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, the father of the Countess of Lennox, Darnley's mother, by Margaret of England, Queen-Dowager

of James IV. Mr. Tytler (History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 22) designates this person Darnley's *cousin*, but it appears he was the "bastard uncle of Darnley and bastard brother" of his mother. He was titular Bishop of Moray sixteen years, which fixes his death in 1589, and he was buried in the Abbey Church of Holyrood.—Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, 4to. p. 89.

⁴ If tradition is to be credited, Riccio was murdered at the top of the private staircase, and some large dark spots, purposely kept on the floor, are most pertinaciously declared to be the indelible marks of his blood. This is unworthy of the slightest credit, more especially when it is recollected that this part of the Palace was completely gutted by fire in Cromwell's time, when his soldiers were quartered in Holyrood.



QUEEN MARY'S BED-CHAMBER, HOLYROOD.

From an Original Drawing by G. Callender.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

and a rich jewel is mentioned as ornamenting his neck, which could not afterwards be found.¹ The dead body was dragged to the porter's lodge, stripped naked, and treated with every mark of indignity. It is alleged, however, on the most undoubted authority, that the mangled body of the Italian was subsequently deposited for a time in the royal vault, beside the remains of her ancestors, by express order of the Queen—a circumstance afterwards remembered to her disadvantage. Riccio was latterly interred in the churchyard of Holyrood Abbey, which was close to the Palace.²

Immediately after Riccio was murdered, the assassins kept the Queen a close prisoner in her apartments; Darnley assumed the regal power, dissolved the Parliament, commanded the Estates to leave Edinburgh within three hours on pain of treason, and orders were sent to the magistrates enjoining them to be vigilant with their city force. To the Earl of Morton and his armed retainers were intrusted the gates of the Palace, with injunctions that none should escape; nevertheless the Earls of Atholl and Bothwell contrived to elude the guards, by leaping from a window towards the north side of the garden, in which some lions and other wild animals were kept. The Earl of Atholl, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, Murray of Tullibardine, Maitland of Lethington, and Sir James Balfour of Pittendrie, were permitted to retire, which they readily did, though both Maitland and Balfour were deeply implicated. On the following morning, which was Sunday, Sir James Melville was “let forth” at the gate. The Queen, seeing him passing through the court-yard, threw up the window-sash, and implored him to summon the citizens to deliver her out of the hands of traitors. Her entreaties were not lost upon him; for being allowed to proceed, on pretence that he was merely “going to sermon in St. Giles’ church,” he went straight to Sir Simon Preston of Craigmillar, then Provost, who caused the common bell to be rung, and, at the head of a body of armed men, rushed into the court-yard of the Palace, demanding the release of their sovereign. Mary in vain solicited permission to address the citizens from the window. She was forcibly dragged from it, with threats that if she attempted to show herself she should be cut in pieces. Darnley, however, appearing in her stead, assured the Provost and his party that the Queen was safe, and, commanding them to disperse, they instantly retired.

Mary does not appear to have been often a resident in the Palace till after the birth of her son James VI., in Edinburgh Castle, on the 19th of June, 1566.³ She was occasionally at Holyrood in August and September that year; and, on the 29th of the latter month, Darnley arrived at the Palace about ten in the evening, but he peremptorily refused to enter unless the Earls of Moray, Argyll, and Rothes, Secretary Maitland of Lethington, and some of the officers of state, who were within, should depart. The Queen condescended to wait on him, and conducted him to her own apartments, where he remained with her during the night.⁴ On the following day the Privy Council met in the Queen’s apartments, and argued with Darnley respecting the folly of the design which he had formed to leave the kingdom; and the Queen took him by the hand entreating him to say whether she had ever offended him. He confessed that she had never given him any cause of complaint, but he abruptly retired from the Privy Council, saying to her—“Adieu, Madam, you shall not see my face for a long space;” and to the Privy Council—“Adieu, gentlemen.” This was the last time Darnley was in Holyrood, from which he immediately proceeded to his father at Glasgow.

Bothwell was now rising in the Queen’s favour, and, as his residence was within the precincts of Holyrood, he had frequent opportunities of evincing his devotedness to her interests. On the 6th of October, after attending a meeting of the Privy Council, Bothwell left Edinburgh to quell some disturbance on the Borders, and to prepare that frontier district for the Queen’s reception.⁵ Mary, accompanied by the officers of state

¹ Bedford and Randolph to Cecil, dated Berwick, 27th March, 1566, in Wright’s “Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth and her Times, a Series of Original Letters,” vol. i. pp. 233, 234.

² Sir James Balfour’s *Annales of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 334. This was the former cemetery adjoining the Chapel-Royal, and was the burying-place of the inhabitants of the Canongate. The supposed grave of Riccio is still pointed out in a part of the floor, which, by the extension of the Palace, is formed into the entrance to the Chapel-Royal, from the north-east corner of the piazzas of the inner quadrangle. A flat stone, with some vestiges of sculpture, is said to cover the remains of the Italian. Mary promoted a brother of Riccio named Joseph, who came to Scotland in the suite of Malvoiser or Mauvissière in 1565, to be her private foreign secretary.

³ See the History of the Castle in the present Work, p. 17.

⁴ Buchanan, in his “Detection,” boldly states that Mary was at this time lodging in the “Checker House,” and this erroneous assertion is made to inculcate her with Bothwell, who was undeniably now her favourite. The records of the Privy Council prove that the Queen was resident in Holyrood, attended by the Lords of the Privy Council and the officers of state, from the 24th of September till the 6th of October, when she went to Jedburgh to hold justice-courts. Keith gives the dates from the 23d of September till the 8th of October.

⁵ It is alleged by Sir James Melville, from personal observation, that Bothwell’s plot for the murder of Darnley, and the possession of the Queen’s person, commenced about the time he was sent to the Borders; but this was his own private scheme, and Moray, Morton, Maitland, and others, were in a plot of their own to destroy Darnley, which, as already stated, was formed about the end of September.

and the whole court, left Holyrood on the 8th of October for Jedburgh to hold justice-ayres, the very day on which Bothwell, who had set out on the 6th, was severely wounded in the hand in an encounter with a Border leader named Elliot of Park. Darnley was at the time with his father at Glasgow. It would be irrelevant to this narrative to detail the Queen's proceedings during this expedition.¹ On the 20th of November she arrived at Craigmillar Castle, where she resided in a very debilitated state till the 5th of December, when she removed to Holyrood;² thereafter, on the 11th of December, she left Holyrood for Stirling Castle, to be present at the baptism of her son, and returned thither on the 14th of January, 1566-7. On the 20th she had become reconciled to Darnley, who had exhibited some strange conduct at Stirling on occasion of the royal baptism, which he either refused or was not allowed to witness. While on the road from Stirling to Glasgow he had been seized with smallpox. On the 24th of January the Queen left Holyrood to bring Darnley from Glasgow to Edinburgh, he having partially recovered from his sickness.³ At this interview with Mary in Glasgow, he professed an earnest repentance of his errors, pleaded his youth, the few friends on whom he could now depend, and declared to her his unalterable affection. The Queen then told him, that as he was scarcely able to travel on horseback, she had brought a litter to carry him to Craigmillar, where she intended that he should have the bath, and the air of which would be more salubrious to promote his convalescence than that of Holyrood.

The Queen arrived at Edinburgh with Darnley on the 31st of January, but, instead of Craigmillar Castle, the house of the provost of the church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields, commonly called the Kirk-of-Field, was selected for his residence. This house stood on the ground now occupied by the south and south-east portion of the University. It is almost impossible to account favourably for Mary's placing Darnley in such a locality as the Kirk-of-Field, unless she may have wished him to be nearer Holyrood than he would have been at Craigmillar, which is three miles distant; or she may have acted by the advice of her physicians.⁴

Into the dreadful catastrophe of the murder of Darnley in this Kirk-of-Field house, early in the morning of the 10th of February, it is impossible in these limits minutely to enter. The Queen had passed the greater part of Sunday, the 9th, with him, apparently on the most affectionate terms, while the conspirators employed by Bothwell were actively engaged in depositing bags of gunpowder in an apartment under Darnley's chamber. Mary at first had resolved to remain all night in the house, but she recollected an engagement to be present at an entertainment in Holyrood, which was the more extraordinary as it was given on the Sunday evening.⁵ When the Queen left Darnley she embraced and kissed him, put a ring on his finger as a mark of her affection, and bade him farewell for the night. She returned to the Palace with her attendants by crossing the Cowgate, walking up the Black Friars' Wynd, and down the High Street and Canongate. Bothwell also left the Kirk-of-Field house at the same time with the Queen, and joined in the unseemly festivities in the Palace, from which he stole away about midnight, and prepared himself for the horrid deed by changing his dress. Early in the morning the citizens were alarmed by a loud explosion. Darnley had been strangled with his page, and their bodies carried into a small orchard without the garden wall, where they were found, the former attired only in his shirt. The house was blown up with gunpowder, and Mary was a second time a widow.⁶

¹ Such as Mary's extraordinary and fatiguing ride from Jedburgh to Hermitage Castle and back in one day to visit Bothwell, when she was informed that he was wounded; her dangerous illness on her return to Jedburgh; Darnley's hasty visit to her after her recovery; and her progress to Edinburgh by Kelso, Coldingham, and Dunbar.

² During Mary's sojourn in Craigmillar she was visited by Darnley on the 26th, and he remained with her a week. In Craigmillar also at that time was matured the project to murder Darnley.

³ Darnley had received some private intelligence of the plots against him; he was aware of the return from exile of the Earl of Morton, who regarded him as the cause of all his sufferings; and he knew that among his mortal enemies, who had never forgiven him for his desertion of them after the murder of Riccio, were some of the most powerful nobility, who now enjoyed the confidence of the Queen.

⁴ Nevertheless, making every allowance for the rudeness of the domestic accommodation of the age, the house was insecure and confined; and its proprietor was Robert Balfour, a dependant of the Earl of Bothwell, and the brother of Sir James Balfour of Pittendriech, the deviser of the bond for the murder drawn up at Craigmillar.

⁵ This was a masque, with which the Queen intended to honour the marriage on that day of one of her foreign domestics named Sebastian, or Sebastiani, and Margaret Carwood, one of her favourite women.

⁶ Darnley and his page were murdered before Bothwell arrived at the Kirk-of-Field house after his revelry in the Palace. When he left his residence within the precincts of Holyrood to perpetrate the crime, or to be a witness of its consummation, he was accompanied by a Frenchman named Nicholas Hubert, who figures in the narrative by the sobriquet of French Paris, and three of his hired retainers. As the localities in the vicinity of Holyrood are now greatly altered, and many buildings are removed which existed in Queen Mary's time, it is difficult to understand the places mentioned. Bothwell and his hirelings, after they left his residence, proceeded "down the turnpike," till they came to the back of the "cunzie-house," or Mint, which was then near the Palace, and they next entered the Canongate. As they passed the South Garden, which was on the south-west of the Palace near the base of Salisbury Crag, they were challenged by two sentinels at a gate leading into an "outer close," to whom they replied that

When Mary was informed of Darnley's fate she evinced the utmost horror, and secluded herself in her chamber overwhelmed with sorrow. Early in the day she removed to the Castle for security, and shut herself in a close room, apparently absorbed in grief. Her conduct and the proceedings of her advisers, however, were narrowly scrutinized; and it was observed to her disadvantage that it was not till two days after the commission of the murder that a proclamation appeared, offering a reward of 2000*l.* to those who should make known the perpetrators. On that very night a paper or "placard" was affixed to the door of the Tolbooth, charging the Earl of Bothwell, Sir James Balfour, and Bothwell's associate, David Chambers, as the guilty parties. The Queen meanwhile continued in the Castle, and the body of Darnley was carried to Holyrood, where it lay in state till the 15th of February, five days after the murder. On the evening of that day it was privately deposited by torch-light in the royal vault in the Chapel-Royal, in presence of the Lord Justice-Clerk Bellenden, and Sir John Stewart of Traquair, whom the Queen had recently appointed captain of her guard.¹

Mary still avoided Holyrood, and remained in the Castle. Her physicians, alarmed at the state of her health, sent a statement to the Privy Council, who advised her to have change of air for a short period; and on the 16th of February, the day after Darnley's funeral, she rode to Seton House, accompanied by the Earls of Bothwell, Huntly, and Argyll, Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, Lords Fleming and Livingstone, and Maitland of Lethington, all of whom were implicated in the plot, and about one hundred attendants.

Bothwell and others continued to be publicly accused of Darnley's murder, yet no prosecution of the alleged delinquents was instituted. An affected zeal was at length displayed to bring the murderers to justice, nevertheless little was done in the matter. On the 23d of March the Queen attended a solemn dirge or "saule-mass" in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood for Darnley, which was celebrated by her express command; and it was observed by those who were near her on that occasion that her health and beauty had undergone a melancholy change, and that she was suffering from acute mental agony. On the mock trial and acquittal of Bothwell, on the 12th of April, at Edinburgh, it is unnecessary to enlarge.² On the day of the trial Sir William Drury arrived in Edinburgh with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, and found the city in possession of Bothwell's friends and followers, to the number of more than four thousand men. The Earl's retainers surrounded the Palace, and perambulated the streets of the city, while the Castle, of which he had been appointed governor on the 19th of March, was at his command. The Queen was then in the Palace, and when Drury presented himself to deliver the letter, the purport of which was suspected, he was rudely designated an "English villain," who had come to stop the trial, and informed that the Queen was too busy with other matters of the day. At that moment Bothwell and Maitland of Lethington came out of the Palace,

they were "my Lord Bothwell's friends," which was considered satisfactory, and they were allowed to pass. They proceeded up the Canongate, and at the Nether-Bow Gate, which they found shut, one of them summoned the keeper to "open the port to friends of my Lord Bothwell." They went a short distance up the High Street, Bothwell maintaining strict silence, and enveloped in a long riding-cloak, till they came to Todrig's Wynd, an alley below Black Friars' Wynd, which they traversed, and crossed the Cowgate to a gate connected with the former monastery of the Black Friars. Here Bothwell ordered two of his attendants to wait for him, and he himself walked to the Kirk-of-Field house, which was in the immediate vicinity. Darnley had before this been strangled, and his dead body carried into the adjoining garden. Bothwell's appearance was the signal for the murderers previously stationed to complete their purpose, and after some delay the train of gunpowder was ignited, the house was blown in pieces about two in the morning, when Bothwell, accompanied by two of his dependants, returned to those whom he had left at the Black Friars' gate, after the absence of half an hour. The party again crossed the Cowgate and separated, running up the Black Friars' Wynd and another alley, and meeting in the High Street near the Nether-Bow. They went down an alley on the north side of the High Street, intending to leap over a broken part of the city wall in Leith Wynd; but Bothwell thought it was too high, and, afraid of injuring their limbs, they were again compelled to rouse the gate-keeper at the Nether-Bow, who opened to them as "friends of my Lord Bothwell." They rapidly passed down St. Mary's Wynd, and reached Bothwell's residence at the Palace by the road now known as

the South Back of the Canongate. Their reply to the sentinels was—"Friends of my Lord Bothwell;" and to the question—"What crack was that?"—referring to the explosion which had been heard throughout the city—they declared they knew nothing; and they were told, that if they were "friends of my Lord Bothwell," they might "gang their way." When Bothwell entered his house he called for a drink, undressed, and went to bed, where he had scarcely been half an hour, when a domestic rushed into his apartment, announcing in the greatest consternation the fate of Darnley—that "the King's house was blown up, and the King was slain." "Fie, treason!" exclaimed Bothwell in feigned astonishment, and he instantly rose and dressed himself. He was immediately joined by the Earl of Huntly, his brother-in-law, who was in the plot, and they both proceeded to the Queen's apartments in the Palace, accompanied by several other persons connected with the court.

¹ Darnley was embowelled and embalmed in Holyrood on the 12th of February, 1566-7, by the Queen's special command. In the Lord Treasurer's Accounts is the following charge—"To Marten Pitcanit, ypothegar, to mak furnishing of druggis, spicis, and other necessaris, for appenying and perfuming of the King's Grace's Majestie's umquhill bodie, 40*l.*; *Item*, for colis, tubbis, hardis, barellis, and utheris necessaris preparit for bowaling the King's grace, 2*l.* 6*s.*"

² It is alleged that on the 5th of that month the Queen, in one of her migratory visits to Seton House, entered into a marriage-contract with Bothwell, which was written by Huntly, the Lord Chancellor, and brother of Bothwell's countess.

and Drury gave Elizabeth's epistle to the latter, who returned with Bothwell and delivered it to Mary. They soon reappeared, and mounted their horses, Drury being informed by Maitland that the Queen was asleep, and could not be disturbed. This was immediately discovered to be a falsehood, for a servant of the French ambassador Le Croc who was near Drury, looking up towards the Palace, saw and pointed out the Queen and Mary Fleming, Maitland's wife, standing at a window. It was also observed that the Queen gave Bothwell a familiar salute as he rode out of the court-yard of the Palace to his pretended trial. He was acquitted, and two days afterwards he increased the excitement against him by carrying some part of the Regalia at the opening of the Parliament. The Queen on this occasion declined the ancient custom of a civic guard from Holyrood, preferring a company of hackbutters; and such were the public sorrow and indignation at her whole conduct, that the very market-women exclaimed to her in the street—"God preserve your Grace if you are innocent of the King's death!"

On the 21st of April the Queen left Holyrood to visit the infant prince at Stirling, and when returning on the 24th, Bothwell, at the head of eight hundred horsemen, seized her person near Almond Bridge, about six miles from Edinburgh, and eleven from Linlithgow. He conveyed the Queen to his castle of Dunbar, and two days afterwards he commenced his process of a divorce from his countess in the Archbishop of St. Andrews' court, and in the Commissary Court recently instituted by the Queen. In the former court his plea was founded on consanguinity, though Lady Jane Gordon, whom he had married only a few months before the birth of James VI., was merely his cousin in the fourth degree of relationship, and in the latter court the prosecution was ostensibly at the instance of his countess. The marriage was declared null in the Archbishop's Court on the 7th of May, and four days after the consistorial court pronounced a similar sentence.

After a brief, and it cannot be denied a criminal residence in Dunbar Castle, with the man universally accused of the murder of her husband, and guilty of the seizure of her person, Mary arrived in Edinburgh, accompanied by Bothwell. On the 8th of May, the day after the divorce was declared in the Archbishop's court, a proclamation was issued, announcing that the Queen had resolved to marry the Earl, and on the 11th she removed with him to the Palace. The proclamation of the banns of marriage was reluctantly performed by John Craig, the colleague of Knox, for which he was afterwards severely assailed in the General Assembly, though his mode of procedure on the occasion was the reverse of complimentary either to the Queen or to Bothwell.¹ On the 12th of May the Queen created Bothwell Duke of Orkney and Marquis of Fife, placing the ducal coronet with her own hands on his head, in the Palace. The marriage-contract was signed on the 13th,² and on Thursday the 15th the unhappy nuptials were celebrated according to the new form by Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney,³ in the then council-hall of the Palace at the early hour of four in the morning. The ceremony was prefaced by a sermon by ex-Bishop Bothwell from the second chapter of the book of Genesis, in which he enlarged on the bridegroom's penitence for his former life, and his resolution to amend, and conform to the strict discipline of the Protestant preachers. John Craig, who had proclaimed the banns in St. Giles' church, when he publicly "took heaven and earth to witness that he abhorred and detested this marriage as odious and slanderous to the world," was nevertheless present. The event was unattended by the pageants and

¹ Craig was "bruited" in the General Assembly on the 30th of December, 1567, for proclaiming the banns of the Queen and Bothwell, and was ordered to "give in his purgation in writing," which he produced on the 6th of July, 1569, to the then General Assembly, and it was unanimously pronounced satisfactory—that he had "done the duty of ane faithful minister."—*Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1839, Part I., pp. 114, 115, 144.

² The authentic contract of the marriage, which was duly registered and still exists, is printed in Goodall's "Examination of the Letters of Mary Queen of Scots to James Earl of Bothwell," 12mo. Edin. 1754, vol. ii. pp. 57–61.

³ This personage, who is subsequently noticed as Commendator of Holyrood-house, was second son of Francis Bothwell, one of the first fifteen judges of the Court of Session, by Janet, daughter of Patrick Richardson of Meldrumsheugh. Adam Bothwell was nominated Bishop of Orkney in 1558, the year before the commencement of the Reforma-

tion, after the death of Bishop Reid, appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session on the 14th of January, 1564, and an Ordinary Lord on the 13th of November, 1565. He married Margaret, daughter of John Murray of Touchadam, and three sons and one daughter were the recorded issue. The ex-Bishop of Orkney was severely censured by his Reforming friends for his solemnization of the marriage of the Queen and Bothwell. On the 25th of December, 1567, it was one of four charges preferred against him in the General Assembly, and he was deposed on the 30th from "all function of the ministrie, conform to the tenor of the act made thereupon, aye and until the Kirk be satisfied of the slander committed by him." He was restored in the General Assembly, on the 10th of July, 1568, on the condition that on a Sunday he should, "when he best may for weakness of his body," preach a sermon in the Abbey church of Holyrood, and at the end confess his offence, desiring at the same time forgiveness of the congregation, which he promised to do.—*Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, Part I. pp. 112, 114, 131.

rejoicings usual on such occasions, and few of the leading nobility were present.¹ It was again observed that Mary was attired in a mourning dress.²

On the night of the marriage a classical proverb was affixed on the gate of the Palace, intimating that only disreputable women marry in the month of May.³ Although Mary after the marriage assumed a gay dress in Holyrood, and frequently rode out with Bothwell, and although he appeared anxious to treat her with respect, refusing to be covered in her presence, which she occasionally resented in a sportive manner by snatching his bonnet and putting it on his head, yet at times his passionate temper violated all restraint, and those who saw the Queen in private soon perceived that she was truly miserable. It was evident that she was suffering the most intense mental anguish, and her unhappy feelings on the very evening of the day of her marriage are described by the French ambassador Le Croc, who visited her in the Palace at her own request. He says that a strange formality was apparent between the Queen and Bothwell, which she entreated Le Croc to excuse, saying that if he ever saw her sad, it was because she had no wish to be happy, which she never could be, as she wished only for death. Le Croc also mentions that on a certain day, when alone with Bothwell in a closet, she called aloud for a knife to kill herself, which was heard by some of the household in an adjoining room.⁴

A formidable confederacy was soon organized, consisting of all the influential nobility, by whom it was intended to seize the Queen and Bothwell at Holyrood; but the Earl of Argyll sent private information to Mary of this plot, which induced her and Bothwell to remove to Borthwick Castle, six miles beyond Dalkeith, on the 6th of June, from which she with difficulty escaped on the 11th to Dunbar Castle, disguised in male attire. The surrender of Mary to the confederated nobility at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh, on the 15th of June, was the last time she saw Bothwell, who fled a fugitive, and became a pirate for a time among the Orkney Islands, till he was immured in a Danish prison, in which he terminated his guilty career. Mary was brought to Edinburgh in the most humiliating manner, riding between the Earls of Morton and Atholl. She was lodged for the night in the house called the Black Turnpike, amid the insults and execrations of the multitude. On the following day the Queen was removed to Holyrood, and the citizens, who had considerably relented, were appeased by the promise of her liberty. But the project of 1565 to imprison her in Lochleven Castle was again revived, and finally determined. On the night of the 16th of June the Queen was hastily conveyed thither, under the charge of Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, men of rude and ferocious manners. Such was the conclusion of Mary's career at Holyrood, which she left on this occasion, never to return.

The Earl of Moray was chosen Regent for the infant prince James, who was now proclaimed King; and Mary was forcibly compelled to sign her own abdication in Lochleven Castle. On the 24th of June, a week after the Queen's removal thither, the Earl of Glencairn and his retainers attacked the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, committing the greatest ravages in the interior, destroying the altar, tearing down the pictures, and defacing the ornaments.⁵ Little is known of the state of Holyrood during the short regency of Moray,

¹ A contemporary chronicler, who erroneously asserts that the marriage was performed in the "auld chapel," says that the persons present were the Earls of Crawford, Bothwell's brother-in-law Huntly, and Sutherland; Lords Oliphant, Fleming, Livingstone, Glammis, and Boyd; Archbishop Hamilton of St. Andrews, Bishop Chisholm of Dunblane, Bishop Lesley of Ross, Lord John Hamilton, Abbot of Aberbrothock; with "certane utheris small gentlemen quha awatit upon the said Duke of Orkney."—*Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences in Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 111, 112.

² Sir James Melville relates an anecdote of Bothwell in Holyrood on the day of the marriage, which shows his immoral and profligate habits, and the unprincipled conduct of Huntly in still associating with the repudiator of his sister. "As for me," he says, "I tarried not at court but now and then; yet I chanced to be there at the marriage. When I came that time to the court, I fand my Lord Duc of Orkeney sitting at his supper. He said, I had been a gret stranger, desiring me to sit down and soup with him. The Erle of Huntly, the Justice-Clerk, and dyvers utheris, were sitten at the table with him. I said that I had already souped. Then he called for a cup of wyne, and drank to me, that I mycht plege him like a Dutchman. He bade me drink it out till (to) grow fatter—'for,' said he, 'the zeall of the com-

monweill has eaten you up, and made you so lean.' I answerit, that every little member suld serve to some use; but that the care of the commonweill appertenit maist to him and the rest of the nobilitie, wha suld be as fathers to the same. Then he said—'I wist weill he wald find a frin for every boir.' Then he fell in purpose of gentilwemen, speaking sic filthy language that (I) left him, and past up to the Quene, wha was very glad of my comming."—Sir James Melville's *Memoirs*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 158.

³ The passage referred to occurs in the Fifth Book of Ovid's *Fasti*, and the entire stanza is as follows—

"Nec viduæ tædis eadem, nec virginis apta
Tempora; quæ nupsit, non diuturna fuit:
Hac quoque de causâ, si te proverbia tangunt,
Mense malas Maio nubere vulgus ait."

This last line was the proverb found on the gate or porch of Holyrood.

⁴ Sir James Melville states that the Queen was so "disdainfully handlit," and with such "reproachful language," that in the presence of himself and Arthur Erskine she demanded a knife to "stick herself"—"or else," she said, "I shall drown myself."

⁵ This was not the first outrage of the kind committed by the Earl in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. Knox says that Glencairn broke the

and of his successors, Lennox, Mar, and Morton. In 1569 Lord Robert Stewart, Commendator of Holyrood, exchanged his abbacy with Adam Bothwell for the temporalities of the See of Orkney, and by this transaction some information is obtained of the condition of the Chapel-Royal at the time. To the fifth of the articles presented against Bothwell in the General Assembly held in Edinburgh on the 1st of March, 1569-70, he answered, that as it respects the Abbey Church of Holyrood, it had been dangerous to be within it for twenty years past by the decay of two of the principal pillars, and the sum of 2000*l.* would scarcely warrant its security; but with their consent, and the enforcement of legal authority, he intended to "provide the means that the superfluous ruinous parts, to wit, the queir and cross kirk,¹ might be disposed by faithful men, to repair the remanent sufficiently."² The exchange of the property of the bishopric of Orkney by Adam Bothwell for the abbacy of Holyrood, was ratified by charter under the Great Seal, dated 25th September, 1569, upwards of five months before he was impeached in the General Assembly. The new possessor resigned the abbacy of Holyrood in favour of his eldest son John before 1581. On the 24th of February, 1581-2, the 8th of December, 1582, and the 11th of July, 1593, the year of his father's death and interment in the Abbey Church, where his monument with an inflated inscription is still to be seen, John Bothwell obtained charters of the Abbey of Holyrood, which in 1607 was erected into a temporal lordship in his favour, and he was created a peer by the title of Lord Holyroodhouse.³

About the end of September 1579, James VI. made his first public entry into Edinburgh, and proceeded direct to Holyrood. He was then in his fourteenth year, and he took possession of his Palace with great splendour, amid the acclamations of the citizens. James, however, was not often a resident in Holyrood till some years afterwards. The next notice which occurs of him in connexion with the Palace is on the 13th of May, 1586, when he convened there all the nobility who were at feud, and, after a banquet, caused them to "shake hands togidder, and to drink ane to ane ither." He then formed a procession of them to the Cross, walking hand in hand, and accompanying them himself, that the citizens might witness the reconciliation he had effected. The Town-Council were as usual compelled to be at the expense of this exhibition, by providing copious libations of wine at the Cross.

On the 6th of May, 1590, James brought his Queen, Anne of Denmark, to Holyrood,⁴ the marriage, it is said, having been a second time solemnized in St. Giles' Church, and on the 17th of that month she was crowned in the Chapel-Royal, the Duke of Lennox and Lord Hamilton presiding at the solemnity. On this occasion the Magistrates proceeded to the Palace and presented the Queen with a rich jewel, which James had deposited with them as security for a considerable sum of money he borrowed from them, and they were compelled to take his verbal promise as a pledge of payment, which he never found convenient to remember.

The violent conduct of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell is elsewhere noticed.⁵ One of his mad projects was to secure the person of James VI., which he repeatedly attempted. Bothwell appeared in Edinburgh on the 27th of December, 1591,⁶ and was admitted late in the evening into the court-yard of Holyrood. His

altars and images; yet in the "Inventar of the Quenis Grace Chapell-Royall geir and ornaments now heir in the paleiss of Halyruidd-houss, deliverit by Sir James Paterson, sacristane, at the Quenis command to Serves de Condé, Frenchman," dated 11th January, 1561-2, neither crucifixes nor images are mentioned, and no allusion occurs to any silver or gold vessels. At the time Glencairn committed the above desecration, an inventory was taken of all the Queen's plate, jewels, and other moveables, the former of which was sent to the Mint to be converted into coin. A cupboard of silver plate belonging to the Queen, which was seized, is said to have weighed not less than two hundred and fifty-six pounds.

¹ This intimates that the transepts, in addition to the choir, the portion of the edifice now left, were standing in Queen Mary's time, and that the chancel only had been destroyed.

² *Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1839, Part I., pp. 163, 167, 168.

³ This peerage became extinct at the death, in the Canongate, in 1755, of Henry Bothwell, designated Lord Holyroodhouse, descended from William, third son of the ex-Bishop Bothwell. This Henry Bothwell petitioned George II. to be allowed the style and dignity of Lord Holyroodhouse, and it was referred to the House of Lords in

March 1734. No further proceedings were instituted. The title, however, was not recognised long before the Union, and seems to have become dormant at the death of John, second Lord, in 1635, who succeeded his father in November 1609, and to whom he was not served heir till 1629. At the time of the Union the title was claimed by Alexander Bothwell, father of the before-mentioned Henry Bothwell, but it is not on the Union Roll of the Peers of Scotland in 1707.

⁴ The King, who undertook this matrimonial expedition to show, he said, that he was not to be "led about by his Chancellor by the nose like an ass or a bairn," arrived in Leith roadstead on the 1st of May, but he was compelled to remain on board till the 6th, while the Palace of Holyrood was in preparation for his reception.

⁵ See the *History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work*, p. 29.

⁶ Sir James Balfour (*Annales of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 389) and Birrel (*Diary*, p. 26) date this adventure as occurring on the 27th of September; but in the summons of treason against Bothwell and his associates, Gilbert Pennycook, John Rutherford of Hunthill, his son Thomas Rutherford, and Simon Armstrong, younger of Whitehaugh, on the 21st of July, 1593, the outrage is expressly stated to have

adherents immediately raised the cry—"Justice! justice! a Bothwell! a Bothwell!" The forfeited Earl hastened to the King's apartments, the doors of which he found carefully secured, notice of his invasion having been obtained by Sir James Melville and his brother Sir Robert two days previously, and the King had received sufficient warning, which he thought proper to disregard. Bothwell threatened to burn the doors which resisted his weapons, and the Queen's apartments were also attacked, on the supposition that the King would be found in one of them. The door of a gallery was successfully defended by Henry Lindsay, master of the Queen's household, and the King was conveyed to a turret of the Palace, which he reached opportunely while the assailants were breaking the doors with hammers, and demanding fire to consume the resisting obstacles. During this tumult the brother of Scot of Balwearie was shot in the thigh, and two of the King's domestics were killed on the south side of the Palace. Bothwell was compelled to retire, leaving nine of his followers in custody, who were hanged without trial the next day betwixt the Girth Cross and the porch of the Palace.

Bothwell either cared little for the forfeiture which was pronounced against him in June 1592, or he was rendered desperate by outlawry and attainder. Yet he had many powerful friends, the repeated proclamations against him had excited much sympathy in his favour, and many, especially the enemies of the court favourites, considered him a persecuted individual. Bothwell soon returned to Edinburgh, and his supporters, notwithstanding the prosecutions and verdict against him, advised that he should present himself before the King in Holyrood as a suppliant for pardon. In defiance of this arrangement, or following the impulse of his impetuous temper, on the 24th of July, 1593, at eight in the morning, he violently invaded the Palace with a number of retainers. The King, who was in the utmost alarm, and unable to resist a band of armed men, was intercepted by Bothwell as he was emerging from a back-stair undressed, and in the excitement caused by this obtrusion he called to the Earl to consummate his treason by piercing his sovereign to the heart. Bothwell, however, laid down his drawn sword, fell on his knees, and implored pardon. James yielded from necessity to his entreaties, and that very day actually signed a capitulation with this rebellious and outlawed peer, to whom he was in reality a prisoner, in which he pledged himself to remit all his past offences, and procure a ratification of it in Parliament, Bothwell promising to withdraw from the court, and reside peaceably on his own estate. He eventually retired to the Continent, and lived several years in obscurity and indigence, in which condition he died.

James VI. after this affair was a frequent resident in Holyrood when in Edinburgh, and the birth of his eldest son Prince Henry, in 1594, induced the Magistrates to send ten tuns of wine to the Palace, at the same time commissioning one hundred of the citizens to be present at the baptism. As this was a most unexpected and acceptable gift, James invited the Magistrates to the baptism of the Princess Elizabeth in the Palace on the 28th of November, 1596. This was considered so complimentary by the civic functionaries, that they engaged to give the Princess 10,000 merks on her marriage-day, which they honourably fulfilled, with an addition of 5000 merks. In 1598, Holyrood received a royal visitor in the person of Philip, Duke of Holstein, the brother of Queen Anne, who arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of March. The Town-Council invited him to a banquet in "Macmorran's lodging" on the 2d of May, which was attended by the King and Queen, and, on the 3d of June, the Duke embarked at Leith for Denmark.¹

The death of Queen Elizabeth, on the 24th of March, 1603, obtained for James VI. the great object of his ambition, the crown of England. Sir Robert Carey,² unknown to the English Privy Council, instantly left London for Edinburgh, and arrived at Holyrood with remarkable celerity, considering the then roads. The King had retired to bed before Carey appeared at Holyrood, but he was quickly admitted, and saluted James as King of England. Carey, after narrating the particulars of Elizabeth's decease, told the King, that, instead of bringing letters from the English Privy Council, he had narrowly and purposely avoided them, but he could produce an undoubted evidence of his veracity, and he presented a blue sapphire ring. This ring was from Lady Scroope, Carey's sister, one of those connected with Elizabeth's court, with whom James maintained a constant correspondence some years before the Queen's death, and it had been sent to

occurred on the 27th of December.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials in Scotland, vol. i. Part II., pp. 294-296.

¹ Birrel's Diary, pp. 46, 47.

² Sir Robert Carey was the fourth son of Henry first Lord Hunsdon, and was created Baron Carey by letters-patent, 5th February,

1625-6. His "Memoirs" contain many curious particulars of the court of James VI. after his accession to the English crown, and he left an account of the death of Queen Elizabeth, whom he visited in her last illness.

her by the King, with positive instructions to return it to him by a special messenger as soon as Elizabeth expired. James carefully examined the ring, and replied, "It is enough: I know by this you are a true messenger."

Three days after Elizabeth's death the keys of Berwick were presented to James VI., and, on the 28th, John Bothwell,¹ Commendator of Holyrood, was in possession of that town. On the 5th of April the King left Holyrood for England, attended by a numerous cavalcade of the Scottish nobility and gentry, and some English knights. He was followed on the 1st of June by the Queen and Prince Charles, who, on the 30th of May, took leave of the citizens, and her other children left the Palace on the day after her departure.

The promise of James to visit Holyrood every third year was never realised, and it was not till 1617 that he was enabled to see his native kingdom. From the end of October 1615 to his death, on the 15th of February, 1619, William Cowper, Bishop of Galloway, officiated at Holyrood as Dean of the Chapel-Royal, and this pious prelate seems to have attracted a numerous congregation. Previous to the King's arrival in Edinburgh in 1617, the Chapel-Royal was ordered to be repaired, and persons were sent from London to ornament the interior with gilt and carved work, chiefly consisting of statues of the Apostles. An organ was also intended to be placed in a gallery above the west grand entrance. This threatened to excite a popular tumult; and a letter of remonstrance, written by Bishop Cowper, and signed by Archbishop Spottiswoode and several of the Bishops, procured the omission of the decorations. James, in his reply, censured the Scottish bishops for their contracted views, and intimated that some English divines in his suite would enlighten them on those matters.²

James entered his native city by the West Port on the 16th of May, and was received in the most enthusiastic manner. Drummond of Hawthornden had prepared a prose speech with which he intended to greet his Majesty, but by some untoward circumstance he was prevented from delivering his oration.³ The King proceeded to Holyrood after hearing a sermon by Archbishop Spottiswoode in St. Giles' Church, and knighting William Nisbet of Dean, the Provost, at St. John's Cross in the Canongate. He was welcomed at the Palace by Mr. John Hay, Clerk-Register-Depute, in an address containing the grossest flattery, and James then entered the Chapel-Royal, to be edified by another sermon from Archbishop Spottiswoode. Returning to the Palace, he was presented at the gate of the inner court with a book of Latin poems,⁴ and afterwards the Magistrates entertained the King and his retinue at a sumptuous banquet.

It is unnecessary to enumerate in the present narrative the progresses of James during his visit to Scotland, and all the pedantry and flattery displayed. On the 8th of June the learned Dr. Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely, preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal,⁵ and on the same day Sir Thomas Lake, eldest son of Secretary Lake, was knighted. The King left Holyrood immediately after the rising of the Parliament on the 28th of June, and returned to England by Glasgow and Dumfries.

On Sunday the 15th of June, 1630, Sir James Balfour was inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms in the Chapel-Royal by the Lord Chancellor Dupplin, the King's commissioner. Conventions of the Estates were held in Holyrood on the 28th of July, the 3d of November, 1630, the 31st of March, the 20th of April, and the 26th of July, 1631, and the 7th of September, 1632, in which several regulations were enacted;⁶ but nothing of importance occurs in the history of the Palace and its Chapel-Royal till 1633, when both were the scene of the coronation and festivities of Charles I. On Saturday the 15th of June, the King, accompanied by Dr.

¹ Erroneously designated "Lord Abbot" and "Bishop of Holyroodhouse" in the English narratives of the King's accession. He was the eldest son of Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, accompanied the King to England, and, as formerly mentioned, was created Lord Holyroodhouse in 1607.

² A letter from Secretary Lake, dated Edinburgh, 6th June, 1617, to Sir Dudley Carleton, notices the then state of the Chapel-Royal. He states that "his Majesty hath set up his chapel here in like manner of service as it is in England, which is well frequented by the people of the country." According to the Earl of Dunfermline, the Chapel-Royal was at this time almost rebuilt. His lordship wrote to the King—"Your Majesty's chappell in Halyrudhous (is) built up of new, with all ornaments and due furnitour (which) might be required in any royall chappell, and maist magnificklie deckt and set furth."—

The Earl of Dunfermline to James I., dated Edinburgh, 23d December, 1617, in the Melros Papers, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, vol. i. p. 298.

³ The intended speech of the poet of Hawthornden is in the "Progresses of King James the First," by Nicoll, vol. iii. pp. 318, 319.

⁴ A copy is in the Library of the British Museum, beautifully bound in crimson velvet, and superbly gilt, and conjectured to be the identical copy presented to the King. The authors of those laudatory effusions were the professors of the University of Edinburgh, and a Latin speech was delivered in their name by Mr. Patrick Nisbet.

⁵ This discourse is the tenth in the Bishop's "XCVI Sermons," and is on the "Sending of the Holy Spirit."

⁶ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. v. Appendix, pp. 208-237, 239-244.

William Laud, then Bishop of London, Dr. Francis White, then Bishop of Ely, and a number of the English nobility and gentry, entered Edinburgh on horseback, amid the greatest pomp and magnificence,¹ and reached Holyrood by the same route through the city traversed by his father in 1617. On Sunday he attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal, which was performed by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, the dean. On Monday the 17th, William, Earl of Angus, was created Marquis of Douglas, and George, Viscount Dupplin, was created Earl of Kinnoull, in the drawing-room of the Palace, and eleven gentlemen were knighted, after which the King went privately in his coach to the Castle, in which he passed the night, and on the following day was the coronation.

On the morning of the 18th, a splendid procession of the nobility and public functionaries preceded the King from the Castle to Holyrood.² The spurs were carried by the Earl of Eglinton, the sword by the Earl of Buchan, the sceptre by the Earl of Rothes, and the crown by the Earl of Angus, supported on his right by the Earl of Erroll, Lord High Constable, and on his left by the Duke of Lennox, Great Chamberlain, and the Earl Marischal. The King, arrayed in crimson velvet robes, followed, riding on a rich foot-cloth embroidered with silver and pearls. When the procession arrived at the porch of the Palace, the King walked across the court-yard, which was railed on each side, and covered with blue cloth, to the Chapel-Royal, under a canopy of crimson velvet laced and fringed with gold. He was met at the west entrance of the Chapel-Royal by Archbishop Spottiswoode and several bishops, and after kneeling devotionally, he was conducted to a chair placed at the west pillar of the side aisle, where Mr. James Hannay, Minister of the Chapel-Royal, addressed him in a short speech. The King then rose and walked through the church to a platform on which was the chair of state, the choir singing an anthem. Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon, delivered a gold vial, in which was the oil, to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who placed it on the communion-table, and the King removed from the platform to the chair near the pulpit. Bishop Lindsay of Brechin preached the sermon, after which the King returned to the chair of state on the platform. The ceremony of the coronation now commenced, and was conducted in the most impressive manner by Archbishop Spottiswoode, assisted by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane, Bishop Alexander Lindsay of Dunkeld, Bishop David Lindsay of Brechin, Bishop Guthrie of Moray, and Dr. Maxwell, Bishop-Elect of Ross, in their episcopal robes. After several preliminaries and devotional exercises, the Archbishop crowned the King, the oath of allegiance was administered, and the usual homage was rendered by the nobility. After placing the sword and sceptre in the King's hands with an appropriate address and invocation, the Archbishop and the other bishops were saluted by the King, who then ascended the platform, where he was solemnly enthroned. The Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Chancellor, now proclaimed at each corner of the platform the royal pardon under the Great Seal to all who required it, and the archbishops and bishops knelt and did homage, repeating the words after the Earl Marischal, and kissing the King's left cheek. At the conclusion, the King entered the Palace bearing the crown, sceptre, and sword, amid the sound of trumpets, and the discharge of the Castle artillery.³

On the 18th of June, the Parliament met in the Tolbooth, and the usual and ancient ceremonial of the "riding" from Holyrood was distinguished by a grand procession, in which the King was prominent. On the 24th, which was St. John the Baptist's day, the King resorted to divine service in the Chapel-Royal. Charles again attended divine service in the Chapel-Royal on the 25th, when Dr. William Forbes, soon afterwards first Bishop of Edinburgh, preached the sermon. The Liturgy of the Church of England was read, and Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane appeared in his episcopal robes, the other bishops present wearing gowns. On Sunday the 30th, Archbishop Laud preached before the King in the Chapel-Royal, which "scarce any

¹ Sir James Balfour, then Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms, whose duty it was to superintend the procession, and who preceded the Earl Marischal in it, has preserved an account of this public entry of Charles I. into Edinburgh, which is printed in his "Annales of Scotland," vol. ii. pp. 196-198; vol. iv. pp. 354-356.

² The order of this procession, with the parties present, is given by Sir James Balfour in his minute and interesting account of the coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood, in his "Annales," vol. iv. pp. 386-389.

³ Sir James Balfour states, that when the ceremonial was con-

cluded, and the King moved from the platform to enter the Palace, gold and silver pieces were thrown among the spectators by the Bishop of Moray, who acted as Lord Almoner. This coin represented the King's profile in his coronation robes on one side, with the inscription CAROLUS DEI GRATIA SCOTIE, ANGL. FRANC. ET HYB. REX, CORONAT 18 JUNII, 1633; and on the reverse a thistle flowered in three large stems, with small branches issuing from it, and the words—HINC NOSTRE CREVERE ROSE.—The "Memorable and Soleme Coronatione of King Charles, crowned King of Scotland at Holyrudhousse, the 18th of June, 1633," in "Annales of Scotland," vol. iv. p. 403.

Englishmen," says Clarendon, "had done before him."¹ On the 18th of July the King left Holyrood for Dalkeith, proceeding to England by Berwick.

After this visit of Charles I. to Scotland, those ecclesiastical measures were concerted which in 1638 excited the great rebellion throughout the lowland counties in Scotland, caused by the introduction of the Book of Canons and the Scottish Liturgy. The mode of conducting divine service in the Chapel-Royal, which belonged to the Crown as an appanage of the Palace, and the conduct of Bishop Bellenden, the dean, were the subjects of special correspondence.² In 1635, Bishop Bellenden was translated to Aberdeen, and was succeeded in the see of Dunblane, and as dean of the Chapel-Royal, by Dr. James Wedderburn, prebendary of Wells. When the Scottish Liturgy was announced in 1636, the congregation of the Chapel-Royal was one of the first supplied with it, for which Robert Bryson, bookseller, and Evan Tyler, printer, granted a discharged receipt on the 15th of April for the sum of 144*l.* Scots, or 12*l.* sterling.

In May, 1638, James, third Marquis of Hamilton, created in 1643 Duke of Hamilton, whose fate in 1643 was as disastrous as that of his sovereign, was nominated Lord High Commissioner to Scotland by Charles I., to allay the religious and political distractions excited by the attempt to introduce the Scottish Liturgy, and by the adoption of the Solemn League and Covenant. The nomination of the Marquis was by no means popular among the Covenanters, though others doubted his sincerity, and accused him of secretly favouring the movement. He was received at the Watergate of the Canongate, close to Holyroodhouse, by the Magistrates of Edinburgh. The Marquis had resolved to attend divine service in the Chapel-Royal, where Dr. Balcanqual was to officiate, who was particularly obnoxious to the Covenanters; and, to prevent this, some of them secretly entered the edifice, nailed up the organ, and announced to the Marquis, that if the "English Service-Book" was again used, the person who did so would hazard his life. The residence of the Marquis at Holyrood failed to influence the Covenanters, and the Civil War ensued, which was preluded by the Glasgow General Assembly.

The next occupant of Holyrood during this unhappy contest was the King himself, who arrived in Edinburgh, accompanied by his nephew, the Elector Palatine, on Saturday the 14th of August, 1641. His reception was different from that of 1633, and the chief mark of respect was a banquet given to him by the Magistrates, which cost upwards of 12,000*l.* Scots, on the 30th of August, in the hall known as the Parliament House. No public procession greeted his arrival, no demonstrations of joy were evinced, and at six in the evening he approached Holyrood rather as a private individual than as the sovereign. The King gave audience in the Long Gallery to numbers of the nobility and gentry, who kissed the hand of him whose royal functions had been rendered merely nominal. On Monday it was debated before the King, at a meeting of the Privy Council, whether or not the Parliament ought to "ride anew;" and it was arranged that the King, after a sermon in the Chapel-Royal, should proceed to the Parliament in his coach, alight at the Lady's Steps on the north-east corner of St. Giles' Church, where he was to be met by the Regalia, and thence walk to the Parliament House in a very limited procession, attended by the officers of state. The King addressed the Parliament in a conciliatory speech, and returned to the Palace. The concluding pageant of the "Riding of the Parliament" was held from Holyrood to the Parliament House on Wednesday the 17th of November. A sermon by Alexander Henderson at half-past eight in the evening ostensibly concluded the proceedings, though

¹ Archbishop Laud preached several times in the Chapel-Royal during the King's visit. On the 15th of June he was sworn a privy-councillor of Scotland.

² On the 8th of October, 1633, the King wrote to Bishop Bellenden, enjoining that the dean of the chapel should at all future coronations be assistant to the Archbishop of St. Andrews—that the book of the form of the coronation lately used was to be carefully preserved in a box, and kept in possession of the dean—that divine service was to be performed twice daily according to the English Liturgy, till "some course be taken for making one that may fit the custom and constitution of that Church" (of Scotland)—that the communion was to be received kneeling, and administered on the first Sunday of every month—that the dean preach in his "whites" on Sundays and the Festivals, and be as seldom absent as possible; and that the Privy Council, officers of state, judges, and members of the College of Justice, communicate in the Chapel-Royal once every year, or be reported to the King by the dean in case of refusal. This was followed by a letter to

the Lords of Session, dated at Greenwich, 13th May, 1634. Bishop Bellenden, however, was refractory, or perceived that it was impossible to fulfil the King's orders, and was soon out of favour with the Court. The correspondence with him on the subject was chiefly carried on by Archbishop Laud, and became at last conciliatory in reference to those whom the English primate describes as having "obeyed or disobeyed his Majesty's commands in receiving the communion in the Chapel-Royal." On the 12th of January, 1635, Archbishop Laud again wrote to Bishop Bellenden about the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood. He mentions Edward Kellie, who in November, 1629, had been appointed to an official situation in the Chapel-Royal by writ under the Privy Seal. The English primate states that the next time he saw the Earl of Traquair he would converse with him about the "gentlemen of the Chapel," and "one Edward Kellie." In a postscript the Archbishop says that he had seen the Earl, who assured him that Kellie had been paid.

the Parliament virtually continued its sittings till June 1644. The lateness of the hour prevented riding back in state to the Palace. The King gave a supper to the nobility in the then great hall, after which he solemnly took leave of them, and left Edinburgh on the following day for England, where he was soon involved in the Civil War.¹

Scotland was placed under the rule of a Parliamentary Committee of the Estates after 1641, and the distractions which ensued left Holyrood deserted and unnoticed either by royalty or by the dominant party. After the death of Charles I., the Covenanters induced Charles II. to appear in Scotland, proclaimed him King, and brought him to Edinburgh; but the presence of the English army under Cromwell prevented him from residing in Holyrood. The victory near Dunbar, on the 3d of September, 1650, enabled Cromwell to quarter a part of his forces in the Palace. While thus occupied, the edifice was, on the 13th of November that year, either by accident or design, destroyed by fire.² Cromwell, however, ordered the Palace to be restored in 1658, and it was completed in November 1659, with the addition of a building within the court, which was afterwards removed.

On the 31st of December, 1660, John, Earl of Middleton, the Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, entered Holyrood in state, and the Palace was his residence during that meeting of the Estates, which assembled on the 1st of January, 1661. Another grand riding of the Parliament from Holyrood occurred on the 9th of October, when the Earl, afterwards Duke, of Rothes was Lord High Commissioner. A fortnight previous, Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo had been inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms by that nobleman in the Palace. The Duke of Rothes died at Holyrood on the 27th of July, 1681, and his body was conveyed to St. Giles' church on the 23d of August, from which it was brought in state to the Chapel-Royal, honoured by a magnificent procession, attended by numbers of the nobility and gentry. On the following day the body was conveyed to Leith, and shipped for Burntisland, to be interred in the family vault at Leslie.

After the Restoration, it was determined to erect a new Palace, and Sir William Bruce, of Kinross, an architect of considerable celebrity in his day, designed the present quadrangular edifice, which he connected with the original north-west towers. In 1676, Charles II. issued minute directions respecting each floor, staircase, apartment, and chimney, and granted his warrant for payment of 4734*l.* as the estimated expense of completing the Palace and gardens. The church was also repaired, and on the 3d of September, 1672, it was ordered to be designated the Chapel-Royal, and no longer the parish church of the Canongate. The erection of the edifice was superintended by Robert Milne, master-mason, a memorial of a relative of whom is on an isolated tombstone in the enclosed grounds behind the Palace.

In 1679 the Duke of York, afterwards James II., visited Edinburgh, occupied the Palace, and was magnificently entertained by the Magistrates. While at Holyrood, the Duke became unpopular by his encouragement of the drama and other amusements, to which the citizens were generally opposed. The Prince again arrived at the Palace in 1680, as a kind of exile from the English court on account of his religious principles, accompanied by his Duchess, and his daughter the Princess Anne, afterwards Queen Anne. The "Duke's Walk," the common appellation of one of the royal parks at the base of Arthur's Seat, east of the Palace, was so called because it was the ordinary promenade of the Duke and his family. The former foot-path is now superseded by the fine carriage-drive leading round Arthur's Seat and the base of Salisbury Crags, begun in 1844.³

The apartment known as the Picture-Gallery, and then designated the Council Chamber, in which the election of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland is held, was fitted up by the Duke of York as his private chapel, in conformity to the ritual of the Roman Catholic religion—a purpose to which it was appro-

¹ Before Charles I. left Edinburgh he was officially informed of the Irish Rebellion. It is traditionally said, that when told of it he was amusing himself by playing golf on Leith Links, and the spot on which he stood is still pointed out on the east side of the Links, near the present toll-bar at the road leading to the villas of Summerfield and the decayed hamlet of Restalrig. The King, it is added, immediately returned to Holyrood in a state of intense mental excitement, which was greatly increased by the unhappy position of his affairs in Scotland.

² Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. p. 35. Nicoll afterwards added—"Except a lytill."

³ In 1843, the office of Hereditary Ranger of the royal parks of Holyrood was purchased by Act of Parliament for 30,674*l.* from the Earl of Haddington, whose ancestor, Sir James Hamilton, had obtained the gift by charter from Charles I. on the 10th of August, 1646, as a recompense for a large sum which he lent the King in his necessities during the Civil War.

priated upwards of a century afterwards, during the first residence at Holyrood of Charles X. as Count d'Artois. On the 27th of July, 1681, the Duke inaugurated Sir Alexander Erskine of Cambo, Bart., as Lord Lyon, in the Palace; but on this occasion the usual sermon preached by the Dean in the Chapel-Royal, before the King or his commissioner and the nobility, was omitted. On the 25th of September, 1686, the Duke, who had succeeded as James II., issued his warrant to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, to continue this gallery as a private chapel. At that period Holyrood could boast of its printing-press. At length James II. directed that the Chapel-Royal should be fitted up exclusively for the Roman Catholic ritual, and as the place of the installation of the Knights of the Thistle. The King intimated that he expected the Chapel-Royal to be repaired and altered according to his directions before the 1st of May, 1688, when it was to be opened for the Roman Catholic service, under pain of his severe displeasure. Father Hay states that the King intended to bestow the Abbey church on the canons of St. Genievieve, of whom he was one. On Tuesday the 11th of July, the keys of the church were delivered to the Earl of Perth as Lord Chancellor, who sent them next morning to the Lord Provost, with an intimation that fourteen days would be allowed to remove the seats and other furniture. Father Hay records a duty he performed in the Chapel-Royal on the evening of the 22d of January, 1688. This was the interment of Agnes Irvine, wife of Captain Charteris, in presence of the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Perth, and a number of persons of all ranks. "I was in my habit, with surplice and aulmus," says the Father: "the ceremony was performed after the rites of Rome. She was the first person since the pretended Reformation that was interred publicly after that manner."

The King's private chapel was still maintained in the Palace, and it appears that some Jesuits occupied part of the Lord Chancellor's apartments on the north side of the Abbey porch. The Chapel-Royal was almost completed for the reception of the Knights of the Thistle about the date of the Revolution. Much excitement then prevailed in Edinburgh, occasioned by the King's proceedings. When the landing of the Prince of Orange was announced in Edinburgh, the first strong intimation of the public feeling in favour of the new government was the assembling of a numerous mob on Monday the 10th of December, for the purpose of burning the Chapel-Royal.¹ The rioters were opposed within the precincts of the Palace by an officer named Wallace and about sixty men, who fired on the assailants, some of whom were killed and wounded. Though repulsed, they soon reappeared with the Magistrates and their officials, who exhibited a warrant from the Privy Council, and Wallace was ordered to surrender. A second skirmish ensued, in which the rioters were successful, and their fury resistless. The Chapel-Royal and the private chapel in the Palace were plundered and devastated; and nothing was left of the former except the bare walls. The royal sepulchre was shamefully violated, and the assailants broke open the leaden coffins, carrying off the lids, in which were the bodies of James V., Magdalene of France, his first queen, Lord Darnley, and others of the royal family of Scotland. Some minor excesses occurred, and the dwellings of all known supporters of King James were plundered or menaced.²

After the Union, the Palace was deserted, and the Chapel-Royal was allowed to continue a ruin till 1758, when it was ordered to be repaired at the expense of the Exchequer. The edifice was most absurdly and injudiciously allowed to be covered with flag-stones, the weight of which was too heavy to be supported by the old dilapidated walls, and on the 2d of December, 1768, about mid-day, a part of the roof and walls fell into the interior, bringing down more of the edifice on the following night. The admired Gothic pillars and ornaments on the north side of the church, were destroyed, and the sepulchral vaults and monuments were greatly injured by the rubbish. The ruins were removed from the interior in 1776. At that time the bodies of James V. and some others were in their coffins in the royal vault, and the head of Queen Magdalene is described by an eye-witness³ as "entire, and even beautiful." Within three years afterwards, according to the same authority, the coffins, the head of Queen Magdalene, and the skull of Darnley, were stolen, and the thigh-bones of the latter only remained, showing the tallness of his stature. The royal vault, which is in the south-east angle of the church, and is a most repulsive-looking cell half under ground, now contains

¹ Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh in 1689, 4to. 1828, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 16-19.

² The principal ringleaders in this attack on Holyrood are enumerated by the Earl of Balcarras, who specially mentions Alexander Swinton, Lord Mersington, the "fanatick judge, with a halbert in his hand, as drunk as ale and brandy could make him; next, the Provost

and Magistrates, with a mob of two or three thousand men. Captain Wallace had certainly been able to defend the house if he had kept his men within the court, and fired out at the windows."—The Earl of Balcarras' Account of the Affairs of Scotland, in the Appendix to the "Siege of the Castle of Edinburgh" in 1689, pp. 95, 96.

³ Arnot, in his History of Edinburgh, p. 255.

merely a pile of human bones. The tombstones of prelates, abbots, nobles, knights, and burgesses of the Canongate, are on the floor of the roofless edifice, and some tablets are conspicuous on its walls.¹ The only one deserving of notice as a work of art is in the interior of the north-west tower, and was erected to the memory of Robert Douglas, Viscount Belhaven, who died at Edinburgh on the 12th of January, 1639. A full-length statue of the deceased is stretched in a recumbent posture on a pedestal five feet high, the right arm resting on a cushion, the head raised, and the left arm supporting a sword, the drapery consisting of the robes of a peer, and two fluted columns with fancy capitals supporting an open pediment, above which are placed the arms of Lord Belhaven. In the space between the columns, behind the statue, are two tablets, divided by a pilaster, containing long Latin inscriptions.

From the Union till 1745, Holyrood was totally neglected, and abandoned to a solitude only varied by the occasional elections of the sixteen representative peers. On the 17th of September, 1745, Prince Charles Edward Stuart took up his residence in the Palace, and gratified his adherents in the city by a series of levees, entertainments, and dancing assemblies, in the Picture-Gallery. His army was encamped on the south-east side of Arthur's Seat, overlooking the village of Wester Duddingstone, where he slept the night before the battle of Prestonpans. The Prince returned to Holyrood on the 22d, the day after the battle, and continued there till the 31st of October, when he commenced his luckless march to England. The Duke of Cumberland resided a short time in the Palace after his return from the battle of Culloden, in the spring of 1746, and he is said to have slept in the same bed which the Prince had occupied. In 1795, the apartments on the east side of the quadrangle, were prepared for the reception of Charles X., then the exiled Count d'Artois, and his suite, and he continued at Holyrood till 1799, holding levees, which were attended by the higher classes of the citizens. In 1822 occurred the visit of George IV. to Edinburgh, when the state-rooms on the south side of the quadrangle were decorated for the reception of the King, whose court and levees once more threw a passing lustre on these old and usually silent halls. Holyrood became a second time, in 1831, the asylum of Charles X., accompanied by his family, consisting of the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême, the Duchess de Berri, her son the Duke of Bordeaux, and a numerous suite. The royal exiles finally left the Palace in 1835. Her present Majesty and Prince Albert, in their progress through the city to the Castle, on Saturday the 3d of September, 1842, passed the south side of the Palace with their cortege, and entered the Canongate. Since that date Her Majesty has occasionally stopped at Holyrood.

After the visit of George IV. the sum of 24,000*l.*, voted by Parliament, was expended in the external and internal repair of Holyrood. The interior of the Palace contains several noble rooms, especially those known as the Royal Apartments, which are now annually occupied by the nobleman who is appointed to represent the sovereign as Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. These apartments are adorned with tapestries representing mythological scenes from the classic writers, painted wainscotings, and profusely carved roofs and ceilings. In the Throne-room is a portrait of George IV. in Highland costume, by Sir David Wilkie, and in an adjoining room are those of King William III., Queen Anne, George I., and John Duke of Argyll. The Duke of Hamilton, as Hereditary Keeper, and the Duke of Argyll, as Heritable Master of the Household, possess apartments in the Palace, in which are several full-length portraits and fine pictures; and other persons reside in the edifice by royal permission. The Picture-Gallery, which occupies the first floor of the north side of the quadrangle, is an old and gloomy apartment of great length, on whose walls are suspended the portraits, by a Flemish artist named De Wit, of one hundred and eleven Scottish sovereigns, the existence of the greater number of whom, from the reputed reign of Fergus I., is as imaginary as are their likenesses.

In the north-west towers are Queen Mary's Apartments, and those of the Duke of Hamilton, the former containing furniture of no greater antiquity than the time of Charles I. In the west front of the tower is the Queen's bedchamber, the walls covered with tapestry, and a very decayed bed is shown as that on which Mary reposed. The Queen's reputed dressing-room in the south-west turret is entered from this room, and also the closet in the north-west turret from which Riccio was dragged in the presence of Mary to be inhumanly

¹ Among these are the monuments of Adam Bothwell, ex-Bishop of Orkney, and of Dr. George Wishart, one of the Bishops of Edinburgh after the Restoration. Lady Jane Douglas, sister of Archibald first and only Duke of Douglas—a lady whose history is remarkable as connected with the celebrated plea known as the "Douglas Cause"

—William seventeenth Earl of Sutherland, and his Countess Mary, eldest daughter of William Maxwell of Preston in Kirkcudbrightshire, the Right Hon. Sir John Sinclair, Bart., and many others, repose amid the humble dust of the burgesses of the Canongate. The Earls of Roxburgh had also a funeral vault in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood.

murdered. In the Queen's Presence-chamber, as it is called, are shown several articles, some of them house-wifery, alleged to have belonged to Queen Mary and Lord Darnley, particularly the pretended boots, lance, and iron breast-plate of the latter, the whole of which are evidently spurious. This apartment also contains a profusion of pictures and prints, chiefly of the seventeenth century, of no great merit.

On the north-west of the Palace is a large garden, at one time the Botanical Garden, in which is a sundial said to have belonged to Queen Mary; it is curiously carved, and probably at least as old as her reign. A small octagonal building of considerable antiquity, and still inhabited, connected with the wall on the west side of the garden, enclosing it from the street called the Abbey-hill, is designated Queen Mary's Bath. On the west side of the lane known as Croft-an-Righ, or the King's Meadow, locally "Croftangry," behind the enclosed grounds of the Palace, leading from the park to the suburb of the Abbey-hill, is an old edifice which was the residence of the Regent Moray. It is traditionally said that he obtained a gift of this house from Queen Mary, and in the garden behind is a tree supposed to have been planted by her own hand.

The royal parks, known as St. Ann's Yards and the Duke's Walk, extend east from the Palace nearly a mile to the villa of Parson's Green; and the lower part of the domain is upwards of two miles in length, south-west from the Palace at the base of Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat, by St. Leonard's Hill, the basaltic columns on Arthur's Seat, popularly known as Samson's Ribs, to the lake and village of Duddingstone. Salisbury Crags, 574 feet above the level of the sea at the cavity called the Cat-Nick, present an immense semicircle of almost perpendicular precipices, from the footpath under which the hill slopes steeply to the valley between its base and St. Leonard's Hill on the west, the old road of the Dumbiedykes, immortalised by Scott, and often traversed by Queen Mary when she rode to and from Craigmillar Castle, and the south side of the Canongate. Between Salisbury Crags and Arthur's Seat is the deep secluded valley of the Hunter's Bog, about a mile and a half in circumference, formed by the declivity of the former and the abrupt rising of the latter hill, displaying within itself all the wild scenery of a remote mountain glen, and commanding at either extremity beautiful and extensive views. Arthur's Seat, some views of which strongly resemble a lion couchant, consists of a series of elevations, the summit of the highest 822 feet above the level of the sea. On the north-west of this green romantic hill is the fragment of St. Anthony's Chapel, on elevated basalt, overlooking the Duke's Walk, and protected from the east winds by a high perpendicular rock. When entire the building was forty-three feet long, eighteen feet broad, and eighteen feet high, having at its west end a tower nineteen feet square, and supposed to have been about forty feet high. The doors, windows, and roof, were Gothic, though of no architectural pretensions. A few yards west of this ruin are the remains of the cell of the Hermitage, which was sixteen feet long, twelve broad, and eight high. Of the foundation and history of St. Anthony's Chapel and Hermitage, nothing is known beyond conjecture. Below the cell is St. Anthony's Well, a spring of pure water issuing from the rock into a hollow stone basin, which in former times supplied the recluse above.¹ Below the summit of Arthur's Seat, on the south side, the Seaforth Regiment of Highlanders intrenched themselves when they mutinied in September 1776, keeping possession of their position for several days, and obtaining supplies of provisions from the citizens. Further down, behind a sloping eminence perpendicular on one side, called Dunsapie Rock, at the base of which is the small restored Dunsapie Loch, and near the village of Duddingstone, the adventurers of Prince Charles Edward's Highland army encamped before and after the battle of Prestonpans. A steep rock overhanging a part of Duddingstone Loch is known as the Hangman's Knowe, from the circumstance of a functionary of that description in Edinburgh having thrown himself from it, and drowned himself in the lake some years before the Revolution.

Salisbury Crags, Arthur's Seat, and the royal parks, are all within the "Sanctuary of Holyrood," and include a circumference of four and a half miles. Persons who retired to the Sanctuary were safe from their

¹ St. Anthony's Well is introduced pathetically in the first part of the fine old Scottish ballad, entitled "The Marchioness of Douglas," the heroine of which was Lady Barbara Erskine, eldest daughter of John ninth Earl of Mar, who married James second Marquis of Douglas in September 1670, a nobleman of violent temper, by whom she was barbarously treated on a false charge of conjugal infidelity, which had been insinuated to the Marquis by a gentleman named Lourie, who had previously wooed her without success. The lady is made to sing sorrowfully—

"Now Arthur's Seat shall be my bed,
The sheets shall ne'er be press'd by me;
St. Anton's Well shall be my drink,
Since my true love has forsaken me."

Lady Barbara was eventually separated from her husband. She bore one son to the Marquis, who was killed at the battle of Steinkirk in 1692.

creditors for twenty-four hours, after which a "protection," issued by the Bailie of the Abbey at a specified charge, must be obtained. The debtors, or "Abbey lairds," as they were ironically designated, might exceed the boundaries of the Sanctuary on Sundays without molestation. Legal alterations, however, have rendered this compulsory "lairdship," to escape incarceration in a prison, to a certain extent unnecessary.

The beautiful and romantic carriage-drive round Arthur's Seat and through the parks was commenced in 1844, when the latter were thoroughly drained, and great improvements were everywhere effected. This road in many places resembles one in some wild and solitary district of the Highlands, far removed from the busy haunts of men, and discloses in every direction the most varied and magnificent views.

Near the east end of the Duke's Walk is a spot on which was once a pile of stones called Muschet's Cairn, removed during the formation of a footpath suggested by Lord Adam Gordon, Commander-in-chief of the Forces in Scotland from 1789 to 1798, who resided in Holyrood-house. The tragical story of Nicol Muschet of Boghall, the murderer of his own wife, is alluded to by Sir Walter Scott in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," in which the cairn is made the scene of Jeanie Deans's midnight interview with Robertson. The wretched man was inveigled to marry a woman of indifferent character, by a person of the name of James Campbell of Bankfoot, ordnance storekeeper in Edinburgh Castle, a man known to all the reprobates of the city, who was tried on the 29th of March, 1721, before the High Court of Justiciary, and sentenced to banishment for life for his concern in the matters connected with the murder. Muschet, in his two confessions, one of which is printed,¹ narrates, that on the night of the 17th October, 1720, he brought his wife from the house of an acquaintance in the Canongate, and walked into the parks behind the Palace, pretending that he was on his way to Duddingstone, and threatening that, if she refused to accompany him, he would never see her again. The unfortunate woman, after in vain entreating him to return to the city, followed him weeping into the Duke's Walk, where the murder was effected, which this ill-omened pile of stones afterwards commemorated. The wretched husband was apprehended, tried, and executed in the Grassmarket, on the 6th of February, 1721. Such is the tragical story of Nicol Muschet and his cairn.

¹ Declaration of Nicol Muschet, in "Criminal Trials illustrative of the Tale entitled the Heart of Mid-Lothian," 12mo. Edin. 1818, pp. 331-343.

Edinburgh: the Old City.

IN the situation and appearance of the "Old Town" of Edinburgh are displayed various peculiar features, and the architecture of many of the existing tenements denotes the former intercourse of the citizens with the Continent. The information, however, which we have as to the ancient state of the city is limited, and its history, previous to the foundation of the Abbey of Holyrood by David I., like its origin, is altogether unknown. For a considerable period after that event, the town was merely a small village built on the ridge sloping eastward from the Castle. The huge, massive, and lofty abodes of the inhabitants extended in that direction only as far as the Nether-Bow gate, at the termination of the High Street, which was the boundary of the burgh; and part of the old city wall still forms the west side of the steep alley or street known as Leith Wynd. Between the Nether-Bow and the Abbey of Holyrood were few or no houses previous to the foundation of that monastery, and this is confirmed by the charter of David I., which permitted the canons regular of Holyrood to erect a burgh of regality on the ground between their abbey and the town. This was the commencement of the Canongate, of which the abbot and canons were the superiors. The city was also for centuries surrounded by lakes and swamps, which procured for it the appellation of "l'Isleburgh" by the French in the sixteenth century. On its north side, and towards the west, lying immediately beneath the precipices of the Castle Rock, was the North Loch, the bed of which at the present day forms the Princes' Street Gardens, and, like many other once solitary and romantic spots, is now traversed by a railway.¹ On the south was the Borough Loch, which covered the present Hope Park Meadows, and was long the resort of snipes and other wild-fowl.

The first extension of the city was the Cowgate, which was long a suburb, the houses on each side being placed amid gardens now covered by decayed tenements, and abounding with numerous alleys. The first fortified wall of Edinburgh, erected about 1450, included only the Lawnmarket and High Street on the south; but in little more than half a century the Cowgate had been built, and as it was considered of sufficient importance to require defence after the fatal battle of Flodden in 1513, this suburb and the Grassmarket were included within the second wall, of which some portions in the streets further south and west still exist. Froissart states that in 1384-5, when a French force arrived to assist Robert III. against the English, the city contained four thousand houses; but this is a gross exaggeration, and is of no more authority than the number of fine castles he pretends to have seen in the vicinity. After the atrocious assassination of James I. at Perth, in February 1436-7, Edinburgh became the Scottish metropolis, and succeeding sovereigns, especially James III., conferred many privileges on the citizens. In the reign of James IV. the town was increased by the erection of wooden houses, the materials of which were obtained from the forest called the Borough Muir, on the south

¹ Previous to the fortifying of the city in the middle of the fifteenth century the bed of the North Loch was a dry ravine. The gardens of David I. under the Castle rock, such as they were, occupied part of the ground; and Bower mentions a grand tournament held on it in 1296, under the auspices of the queen of Robert III., at which Prince David, her eldest son, presided. After the lake was formed as a defence of the city on the north, it extended east of St. Cuthbert's parish church, from the base of the Castle rock, near the ruinous Well-House Tower, erroneously designated *Wallace's Tower*, to the

line of the North Bridge, at which was a sluice for discharging the water. A ford in the lake is mentioned at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Town-Council kept swans and ducks in the North Loch, and several tenements on its south bank had servitudes of boats, which latterly were most convenient for introducing smuggled goods into the city. The lake was partly drained in 1763, previous to the erection of the North Bridge and the construction of the Earthen Mound, but the ground lay waste and marshy till 1816 and 1825, when it was enclosed, and partly laid out in pleasure-grounds.



NEW ASSEMBLY HALL.
EDINBURGH.

From an Original Drawing by W. L. Letch

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

of the then Borough Loch. In 1478, when the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III., encamped the English army at Restalrig, Edinburgh is described as populous and wealthy. Taylor, the Water-Poet, notices the High Street, in 1615, as the "fairest and goodliest street that ever his eyes beheld." Dr. Johnson merely observes of the Scottish metropolis, when on his journey to the Hebrides, in 1773, that it is "a city too well known to admit description." Boswell, however, records his admission, that "the breadth of the street, and the loftiness of the buildings, made a noble appearance." This was only a few years before the following description of the then town was published by a most competent authority, who says—"Placed upon the ridge of a hill, it admits of but one good street running from east to west, and even this is tolerably accessible only from one quarter. The lanes leading to the north and south, by reason of their steepness, narrowness, and darkness, can only be considered as so many unavoidable nuisances. Many families, sometimes no less than ten or a dozen, are obliged to live overhead of each other in the same building, where to all other inconveniences is added that of a common stair, which is in effect no other than an upright street."¹

When the citizens were crowded together in the towering tenements, entered by those "upright streets," the common stairs, and in the steep and narrow lanes of the High Street, the Canongate, and the Cowgate, the town was entered by six gates, locally designated "Ports." The Nether-Bow Port on the east is already noticed as leading directly into the Canongate; south from this, at the junction of St. Mary's Wynd and the Pleasance, was a gate at the east end of the Cowgate; and on the north, at the termination of Leith Wynd, near Trinity College Church, was St. Andrew's Port. A more modern gate was the North Port, at the east end of the North Loch, leading to the fields on which the new city is erected, and to a straggling hamlet called Multrie's Hill. On the south-west were the Potterow and Bristo Ports, and immediately under the south base of the Castle rock, at the west end of the Grassmarket, was the West Port. An internal gate was in the West Bow. All those ancient erections have long disappeared. The hamlet of Multrie's Hill was removed for the erection of the General Register House at the east end of Princes' Street, and no vestiges remain of St. Ninian's Chapel in the vicinity, and of a building called Dingwall's Castle, which probably derived its name from John Dingwall, one of the first judges of the Court of Session, and Provost of Trinity College Church at the Reformation. The ancient road on the north side of the North Loch, which had no hedges or fences of any kind, known as the Long Gate or Row, is the present line of Princes' Street. It is traditionally said that the magistrates on one occasion, before 1750, offered to an inhabitant of the Canonmills a perpetual feu of all the ground between Multrie's Hill and the Gallowlee, half-a-mile distant on the left of the road to Leith, for a merely nominal feu-duty, but, as the land produced only heath and furze, the conditions were declined. It is curious to contrast this with the present value of the district in question. The former village of Picardy, occupied by the descendants of French refugees as weavers, gave its name to Picardy Place. The Gallowlee, the scene of many an execution, as its ominous name intimates, once contained fine gardens and nursery-grounds.

THE CASTLE-HILL.

THE most ancient part of Edinburgh is the narrow street adjoining the esplanade of the Fortress, extending to the Lawnmarket and head of the West Bow, and designated the Castle-hill. This was for many years a fashionable residence of some of the nobility and gentry, and the denizens were a kind of exclusive community, separated in some degree from their neighbours in the Lawnmarket by the Weigh-House, a particularly clumsy edifice of two storeys and a flat roof, erected in the middle of the street in 1660, on the site of the Weigh-House destroyed by Cromwell in January 1651, and allowed to deform the locality till its removal before the

¹ Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Bart., a judge in the Scottish Supreme Court from 1726 to 1766, Lord Justice-Clerk from 1763 to the latter year, and grandfather of the first Earl of Minto. His Lordship was known to be the writer of "Proposals for carrying into effect certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh," in which he indulges in several severe reflections, not now applicable, on the internal condition of the city. It is not known in what part of the city Sir Gilbert

originally resided; but in 1753 the first storey or flat of the west tenement, entered by a common stair from Carrubber's Close in the High Street, was advertised to be sold or let as the house of the "Dowager Lady Minto;" and some years afterwards the mansion still called Minto House, on the south of the Cowgate, near Argyll Square, was built as a town residence for the family.

visit of George IV. in 1822. The Castle-hill includes sundry antique tenements on both sides of the street, and the entrance to several alleys or closes which were demolished by the construction of the spacious road from the south-west suburbs to the Lawnmarket, winding round the Castle rock, called the "New West Approach," opened in 1836, and by the erection of the beautiful Gothic edifice, surmounted above its eastern entrance by a magnificent and lofty spire, for the annual meetings of the General Assembly, and as one of the city parish churches.¹ The designations of those closes or alleys were, like many of those in other parts of the town, occasionally changed by the caprice of the proprietors, or on account of some resident inhabitant of rank and importance.² Only one, apparently, had an outlet to the lower region of the Grassmarket on the south.³ The first alley below the esplanade on the south side deserves to be particularly noticed. In it is an old mansion strongly built, the walls of great thickness, said to have been at one time a residence of the ducal family of Gordon, though this rather contradicts their reputed town domicile in the Canongate. The outer doorway is surmounted by a kind of fleur-de-lis coronet. In this house, or certainly in one in this alley, was born the gallant Sir David Baird, Bart., the hero of Seringapatam, who died in 1829. The other closes, which led to old mansions and tenements, behind which were sloping gardens, have disappeared, and a very few of the street entrances are the only remains of this completely changed locality.⁴

On the north side of the street, near the Esplanade, is the Reservoir, a plain stone edifice erected for supplying the Old Town with water. Before this, the carrying of water afforded employment to persons of both sexes, called *water-caddies*, whose daily avocation was to ascend the long stairs of the tenements of the Old Town with small barrels full of water on their backs, which they emptied into the tubs and pails of those who paid them a small sum for each barrel. Those water-caddies were duly licensed by the magistrates, and had the right of first obtaining water at the wells whenever they appeared; while the citizens could only procure a supply by turns, and the maxim that they who came first were first served was duly observed, except in the case of the caddies. The wells of Edinburgh were often the scenes of abusive language and skirmishing on the part of female viragos, who contended for the priority of their "turn" with their neighbours.⁵

Behind the Reservoir,⁶ on the steep declivity of the Castle-hill bank, overlooking Princes' Street Gardens, is Ramsay Lodge, a plain villa, chiefly interesting as having been built by Allan Ramsay, the author of

¹ The General Assembly's Hall, in which the congregation of the Tolbooth parish is accommodated, was named Victoria Hall, in compliment to her Majesty Queen Victoria, during whose first visit to Scotland in 1842 the edifice was in progress of erection. Although the whole structure was built, with the exception of the higher part of the spire, the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was performed on that occasion. The edifice was completed in 1844, and the General Assembly was first held in it in May that year. Under the church, on the ground-floor, are commodious apartments for meetings of committees, the preservation of records, and the library belonging to the General Assembly.

² One alley derived its name from a different cause. This was the Stripping Close, at which culprits sentenced to be whipped through the town were divested of their upper garments by the executioner, and the punishment was commenced on their backs by that functionary.

³ This was Currie's Close, dignified as *Vicus Curreri* in the "Bird's-Eye" view of Edinburgh taken by Gordon of Rothiemay in 1647, and republished in Kirkwood's "Plans and Illustrations of the City of Edinburgh" in 1817.

⁴ Blair's Close is the name of the alley in which Sir David Baird was born. Below it were Brown's Close, Boswell's Court, and Rockville Court, the latter deriving its name from the Hon. Alexander Gordon of Rockville, a younger son of William second Earl of Aberdeen, who was elevated to the Bench in 1784, and discharged his duties as a judge till his death in his house in this alley in 1792. Coalstoun's Close, on this side of the street farther down, and now removed, was so named because in it resided George Brown, Esq. of Coalstoun, in Haddingtonshire, who took his seat on the Bench by the title of Lord Coalstoun in December 1756. His Lordship had previously occupied a house in the Luckenbooths opposite St. Giles' church. His lady, who survived him sixteen years, died in Coal-

stoun's Close in 1792. Lord Coalstoun was the grandfather of the lady who married George ninth Earl of Dalhousie. Kennedy's Close, which was the next eastward, is said to have been so called from a branch of the Kennedys, Earls of Cassillis, who had a house in this alley.

⁵ In 1621, the Scottish Parliament, in compliance with a petition of the citizens, passed an act to bring water into the city; nevertheless the lieges remained in their former condition, procuring water from spring-wells and other sources, till 1672, when the magistrates employed Peter Brauss, a German engineer, to introduce water in a lead pipe from Comiston, near the base of the Pentland Hills, about four miles south-west of the city, to this Reservoir. The contract with Brauss amounted to 2950*l.*, and, to stimulate him to activity, the authorities promised him a gratuity of 50*l.*, which sum was paid to him in 1681, when the water is supposed to have been first introduced. Public wells, which still remain, were erected in the streets. In 1722, additional pipes were laid; and in 1787 a cast-iron pipe of five inches was added. In 1790, other springs were procured at Swanston, and three miles further south near the Pentlands, and a pipe laid at the expense of 20,000*l.* These were the preliminaries of the more extensive introduction of water into the city by a public joint-stock company.

⁶ In the "Bird's-Eye" view of Edinburgh, by Gordon of Rothiemay, a "kirk on the Castle-hill" is noticed as one of the "chief places of the town." A view of the south side of the edifice is given, which was a kind of Gothic fabric near the site of the Reservoir. Maitland conjectures that it was the "church of St. Andrew near the Castle," to the altar of the Holy Trinity in which Alexander Currie, vicar of Livingstone, granted an annuity of twenty merks Scots on the 20th of December, 1488. Maitland also names an informant (Professor Sir Robert Stewart) who had often seen the ruins of this church. —History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 206.



WEST BOW
EDINBURGH

From an Original Drawing by G. Cattemole

JOHN G MURDOCH LONDON

the "Gentle Shepherd." He spent the last twelve years of his life in this house, and died in it in 1757, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.¹

Numerous old mansions and tenements stood between Ramsay Garden and the alley known by its modern name, from a subsequent proprietor, of Blyth's Close, in which were the reputed Palace and Oratory of Mary of Guise, the Queen of James V. Most of those tenements are now demolished, and the others, inhabited by very poor families, are in rapid decay.² The Palace and Oratory of Mary of Guise, and Blyth's Close itself, were taken down in 1845, and the only remaining memorial of the latter in 1847 was the front land of three storeys, on which were the inscription "LAUS DEO," the date 1591 in large iron letters, and the marks of the initials of James VI. The Palace of Queen Mary's mother was of no architectural pretensions, yet it was antique and solid, though latterly its squalid inmates rendered the exterior and the interior peculiarly forbidding to a visitor. It was a tenement of three storeys on the west side of the alley, entered by a turnpike stair, above the door of which were carved in stone the Queen's initials, her cipher, and the words "LAUS ET HONOR DEO." The roofs of the apartments displayed various coronets, fleurs-de-lis, and ornaments in carved wood, many of which are carefully preserved.³ On the opposite side of the alley was the supposed Oratory, in a large recess in which was found a curious iron box, now preserved in the museum at Abbotsford.

THE WEST BOW.

THIS singular street, one of the most ancient in Edinburgh, of which only two small portions now remain, one forming the south-west corner of the Lawnmarket, and a few tenements below, and the other at the Grassmarket, was entered from the Castle-hill by an angular sloping of the street, in which before 1822 stood the Weigh-House. The West Bow was for centuries one of the most remarkable and grotesque localities of the Old Town, the houses of the most fantastic architecture, and abounding in antiquities, which have all disappeared. The street was a steep descent from the Lawnmarket, which was designated the *Bow-Head* at its commencement, and the *Bow-Foot* at its amalgamation with the latter. It had two *bends* or crooks, called *turns*, at one of which, next the Lawnmarket, was the gate connected with the first wall of Edinburgh, built in 1450, extending directly eastward between the Lawnmarket and the High Street, and the then suburb of the Cowgate. The hooks for supporting the hinges of this gate were long visible in the front of an adjacent house. This gate had been retained after the building of the wall in 1513 included a wider circuit within the city; and it was the scene of ceremonials at the state entrances of the sovereigns. The West Bow had witnessed the public entries of James VI. and his consort Anne of Denmark, Charles I., Oliver Cromwell, Charles II., and James II. when Duke of York, into the city; and its denizens, for upwards of a century after the removal of the place of execution on the Castle-hill, and other localities, were familiarised with the melancholy processions of criminals led to expiate their

¹ Although the site is most romantic, and the house is surrounded by trees, the fantastic style in which it is built caused numerous jokes at Ramsay's taste, which considerably annoyed him. It is said that he one day complained to his friend Patrick fifth Lord Elbank, to whom he was showing the interior, that the wags of Edinburgh compared the house to a goose-pie, and his Lordship is reported to have jocularly replied—"Indeed, Allan, when I see you in it I think the wags are not far wrong." The following notice of relics discovered at the formation of Allan Ramsay's garden is interesting—"About the middle of June some workmen, employed in levelling the upper part of Mr. Ramsay's garden in the Castle-hill, fell upon a subterraneous chamber, about fourteen feet square, in which were found an image of white stone, with a crown upon its head, supposed to be the Virgin Mary, two brass candlesticks, about a dozen of ancient Scottish and French coins, and some other trinkets scattered among the rubbish. By several remains of burnt matter, and two cannon-balls, it is guessed that the building above ground was destroyed by the Castle in some former confusion, it having been the most westerly house in the city."—*The Scots Magazine* for June 1754, p. 303.

² Some of the former occupants of these tenements may be here noticed. In Pipe's Close, a repulsive narrow alley, the first east of the Reservoir, formerly dwelt the Hon. Barbara and the Hon. Elizabeth Gray, daughters of John tenth Lord Gray, so styled because he married Marjory Baroness Gray in her own right, only child of Patrick ninth Lord. At the head of the next alley, called Skinner's Close, the family of the Earls of Leven is said to have resided in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the entrance to the common stair having the date 1621. Below this was Sempill's Close, so designated because it contained the town residence of the Lords Sempill, a strong-built tenement in excellent repair in 1847. John twelfth Lord Sempill occupied this house in 1753, when it was advertised for sale. Over one door is the inscription—SEDES MANET OPTIMA CÆLO; and over another—PRAISED BE THE LORD MY GOD, MY STRENGTH, AND MY REDEEMER, with the date 1638.

³ An interesting paper on the interior of the Palace of Mary of Guise was read to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries at a meeting of the Society in the early part of the year 1847.

offences in the Grassmarket. In this street the unhappy Captain Porteous made his hopeless struggles and vain entreaties for mercy to his relentless destroyers; and here also was the shop from which the rioters procured the rope to hang him, leaving, as an evidence of the deliberation and justice of their proceedings, a guinea as the price on the counter. The narrative of that daring riot is subsequently given in full, in the account of the "Old Tolbooth."

Though for years, before its demolition to be supplanted by Victoria Street and Victoria Terrace, the West Bow had sadly degenerated in its inhabitants, and abounded with public-houses of the lowest description, brokers' shops and stalls, its former denizens were long a peculiar community of artisans, and dealers in a multiplicity of articles. They were also zealous Covenanters, whom the adherents of the House of Stuart ridiculed as "Bow-Head Saints," and the "godly plants of the West Bow."¹ The dagger-makers were at one period the principal residents of the street,² and when that trade became extinct they were succeeded by whitesmiths, coppersmiths, and pewterers, who for many years kept undisturbed possession. The noise occasioned by so many hammermen at their vocation was most annoying to a stranger. Another peculiarity of the West Bow was that it contained several booksellers,³ and from this street emanated numerous tracts, sermons, and other productions of favourite Presbyterian ministers, whose polemical literature is now forgotten.⁴ Moreover, such a singular locality could not be without its supernatural visitants and haunted houses. The worthies of the West Bow were terrified by a coach which thundered over the descent from the Lawnmarket at midnight, driven by a mysterious coachman, and drawn by six horses, whose eyes, mouths, and nostrils, sent forth flames of fire and brimstone. As to haunted houses, the street possessed one which had no rival in any other city or town in the kingdom. This was the domicile of the notorious Major Weir, at which the aforesaid coach was believed to stop for a short time in its career down the Bow, and in which the spirits of darkness were alleged to hold communings with its former occupants. This house was for many years the terror of the neighbourhood, and the object of most special horror to the boys of Edinburgh, who regarded it with superstitious dread. "No family," says Sir Walter Scott, "would inhabit the haunted walls as a residence, and bold was the urchin from the High School who dared approach the gloomy ruin, at the risk of seeing the Major's enchanted staff parading through the old apartments, or hearing the hum of the necromantic wheel which procured for his sister such a character as a spinner."⁵

Thomas Weir, commonly called Major Weir, was the son of Thomas Weir of Kirkcounie, and was born near Lanark about 1600, as it is stated that in 1670, when he was executed, he was seventy years of age.⁶ His father or grandfather is mentioned as treacherously obstructing the marriage of the eldest son

¹ The "sanctified bends" of the Bow are noticed by Sir Walter Scott in a ballad in which Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee, is represented as retiring from the Convention of Estates at the Revolution by that street, to raise the standard of James II. in the Highlands, though he left the city by Leith Wynd. This fine ballad is inserted from one of the publications known as "Annals" in the Quarterly Review for 1828, pp. 96, 97. The following are the stanzas describing the Viscount's *poetical*, though not his *real* departure from Edinburgh:—

"As he rode down the sanctified bends of the Bow,
Each carline was flyting and shaking her pow;
But some young plants—they looked couthie and sloo,
Thinking—luck to thy bonnet, thou bonnie Dundee!
With sour-featured saints the Grassmarket was pang'd
As if half of the West had set tryst to be hang'd;
There was spite in each face, there was fear in each e'e,
As they watch'd for the bonnet of bonnie Dundee."

² In June 1605, a dagger-maker in the West Bow, named William Thomson, was killed by John Waterstone, one of his neighbours, who was next day beheaded on the Castle-hill for the crime.

³ The bibliopoles of the West Bow were latterly represented by Mr. James Main and Mr. Thomas Nelson. The old-established book-shop of the former was some yards down the street on the east side, and the windows displayed a series of productions now forgotten, such as the exploits of Dick Turpin the highwayman, accounts of extraordinary shipwrecks, and other ephemeral narratives, with coloured engravings, and generally sold at sixpence each. Mr. Nelson, the last of the West Bow booksellers, and an extensive publisher in what is technically

called the *number trade*, long possessed the shop under the antique corner wooden tenement at the head of the Bow, east side, next to the Lawnmarket, from which he removed to large and commodious premises near Blyth's Close, in the Castle-hill street.

⁴ A crazed enthusiast named William Mitchell, by trade a white-iron smith, who occasionally exhibited as a preacher, and was well known in Edinburgh during Queen Anne's reign by the sobriquet of the *Tinklerian Doctor*, resided in a cellar at the head of the West Bow, from which he issued raving theological broadsheets on a variety of subjects.

⁵ Major Weir's house, or *land*, entered immediately below the former book-shop of Mr. Main, close to a front tenement bearing the date 1604 over the doorway of the stair, and the words SOLO DEO HONOR ET GLORIA—a pious inscription, which was nevertheless unable to prevent the nocturnal visits of the ghosts and demons. A narrow passage leads into a small open court in front of the house, which is two storeys high, with a small attic, the walls of the ground storey more ancient than those of the upper. It is singular that Sir Walter Scott, in his "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft," published in the Family Library in 1830, completely mistakes the Major's house in the frontpiece to that volume; and an engraving of a tenement on the north-west side of the first *bend* or turn of the West Bow, which was at one time the Assembly Room, is given as the real tenement, which was further up the street, on the opposite side, and not visible from the pavement until entered by the narrow alley and open court.

⁶ Law's Memorials, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. Edin. 4to. 1818, p. 22.



FOOT OF THE WEST BOW.

From an Original Drawing by G. Cartermode.

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

of Lockhart of Lee, his brother-in-law, to a daughter of Gilbert ninth Lord Somerville.¹ Weir was a lieutenant in the Puritanical army in Ireland, and in 1649 and 1650, he commanded the city-guard of Edinburgh, from which situation he derived the title of Major. He is quaintly described as "a tall black man, and ordinarily looking down to the ground—a grim countenance, and a big nose." The Major had acquired a remarkable fluency in prayer, and soon became noted among the Covenanters in Edinburgh for his supposed piety and fervid extemporary utterance at their private meetings, in which he "prayed to admiration." Many also resorted to his house to exercise their devotions, though it was afterwards remembered that he never could discourse on religious subjects, or engage in prayer, without a black staff in his hand, which he always carried with him. Such was the subsequent credulity respecting the Major's powers of necromancy and the black art, while he was deceiving his zealous admirers for years by his shameful hypocrisy, that it was believed his very staff possessed magical properties—that it could go to a shop and procure any articles he required—that it could open the door to any one who called upon him—and that it was often seen in motion before him in the capacity of a link-boy.

The Major never married, and his domestic affairs were superintended by a spinster sister, who resided with him in this house, attended by a female servant. At length, whether harrowed by remorse, or in a state of insanity, the Major confessed to a long course of criminal intercourse with his own sister, and with two females, one of whom was his servant, and the other is described as his step-daughter. His neighbours were astounded at his disclosures, more especially when he concluded with the declaration, "Before God, I have not told the hundredth part of what I can say more, and am guilty of." His impeachment of himself was considered so incredible, that Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall in Fife, the Lord Provost, refused for some time to commit him to prison; and it is the recorded opinion of a writer who lived a century after him, that "the Major was delirious."² The self-accusing Major and his sister were eventually committed to the Tolbooth, and even his mysterious staff, by the special advice of the latter, was secured. He was tried, found guilty, and condemned to be strangled and burned, a punishment which was inflicted a few days afterwards at Greenside, near the base of the Calton Hill, where it appears that he was literally burned alive. His staff was also thrown into the flames,³ and it is recorded that it "gave rare turnings, and was long a burning, as also himself." While he was in the Tolbooth he confessed his profligacy, but refused to engage in any acts of devotion; and he died in a state of the most hardened indifference. The Major's sister was also tried, condemned, and executed for her criminal practices, to which was added the very unnecessary accusation of witchcraft, the proof chiefly her own confession as to sundry alleged traffickings with a tall woman who came to her from the "Queen of Fairie," while she was a schoolmistress at Dalkeith.⁴ She told a minister who attended her, that she had resolved to die "with all the shame she could;" and accordingly, when she appeared on the scaffold, after addressing the spectators concerning her sins, her brother, his magic staff, and the Solemn League and Covenant,⁵ she attempted to exhibit herself in a state of nudity, striking the executioner for preventing her. This abandoned creature died as impenitent as the Major, and both left behind them a notoriety in the annals of crime and superstitious credulity, which will never be obliterated from the traditionary history of the city.

Nearly opposite the entrance to the Major's house, on the west side, was a tenement, a part of which had once been the Assembly Room. On the doorway of the stair were the words *IN DOMINO CONFIDO*, the arms of the Lords Somerville, with the date 1602, and some initials. Further down the Bow was another lofty tenement entered by an outside stair, which is alleged to have been the first Assembly Room. This was the house erroneously engraved in Sir Walter Scott's *Letters on Demonology* as that of Major Weir. The angle contained a spiral stair, from which projected a massive turret of three or four storeys, and was a most prominent object in the West Bow.

¹ *Memorie of the Somervills*, written by James eleventh Lord Somerville, and edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. ii. pp. 72-78.

² Arnot, in his *Criminal Trials*, 4to. p. 360.

³ No Antiquarian Society then existed in Edinburgh to rescue Major Weir's mysterious staff, and preserve it as a curiosity.

⁴ "She also confessed in prison that she and her brother had made a compact with the devil, and that on the 7th of September, 1648, they were both transported from Edinburgh to Musselburgh, and back again, in a coach and six horses, which seemed all of fire, and that the devil then told the Major of the defeat of our army in England, which he

confidently reported in most of its circumstances several days before the news arrived here. But as for herself, she said she had never received any other benefit by her commerce with the devil than a constant supply of an extraordinary quantity of yarn, which she was sure, she said, to find ready for her upon the spindle, whatever business she had been about."—*Ravillae Redivivus*, p. 40.

⁵ She is reported to have exclaimed at the gibbet:—"I see a great crowd of people come hither to-day to behold a poor old miserable creature's death, but I trow there be few among you who are weeping and mourning for the broken Covenant."

The head of the West Bow was, in 1596, the scene of one of those numerous conflicts which for centuries were of frequent occurrence in the streets of Edinburgh. A deadly feud had existed for some months between the Somervilles of Cowthally and Cambusnethan in Lanarkshire, two branches of the noble family of Somerville. Among the allies of the Somervilles of Cambusnethan was James Johnstone of Westerhall, whose mother was a daughter of the former family, and who considered it his duty to support their claims and pretensions on all occasions. This gentleman was a thoroughbred Borderer, an excellent swordsman, and capable of contriving and executing the boldest enterprises. Hugh Somerville of Wrights, commonly from his stature and personal appearance known by the sobriquet of "Broad Hugh," was standing one day at the head of the West Bow, and Johnstone of Westerhall was walking up the same from the Grassmarket. A person who knew their family quarrels remarked to the Laird of Westerhall, "There is Broad Hugh Somerville of the Writes." They had often fought before upon equal terms, but on this occasion Westerhall took an undue advantage of his opponent. Supposing that Somerville was purposely waiting to attack him at the head of the West Bow, or that he intended to insult him, he drew his sword, and exclaiming, "Turn, villain!" he ran furiously towards his opponent, and dangerously wounded Broad Hugh on the head. Thus unexpectedly struck, he unsheathed his weapon as soon as he recognised his former antagonist, who had not attempted to repeat his stroke, and as he was the taller man, and of great bodily strength, he pressed Westerhall, who traversed the breadth of the street. Broad Hugh nevertheless kept close to him, having the advantage of the steep ascent. The greatest consternation prevailed, the people ran into the shops, and no one attempted to separate the combatants, as every thrust of their swords threatened instant death to any one who went near them. Broad Hugh bore down Westerhall, who was now almost exhausted by fatigue, to the foot of the Bow at the Grassmarket. Westerhall stepped within the door of a shop, and stood on the defensive; and here the last stroke of Broad Hugh almost broke his sword in pieces, having hit the lintel of the door, the cut on which long remained. The city by this time was in an uproar, and the magistrates, when informed that two gentlemen were engaged in a deadly encounter in the West Bow, sent their halbert-men to seize them. They were both secured, and conveyed to their own residences. The wound on Broad Hugh's head was at first considered dangerous, but he was at length completely cured. After the death of Lord Somerville, he and Westerhall were reconciled, and their mutual differences were forgotten.¹

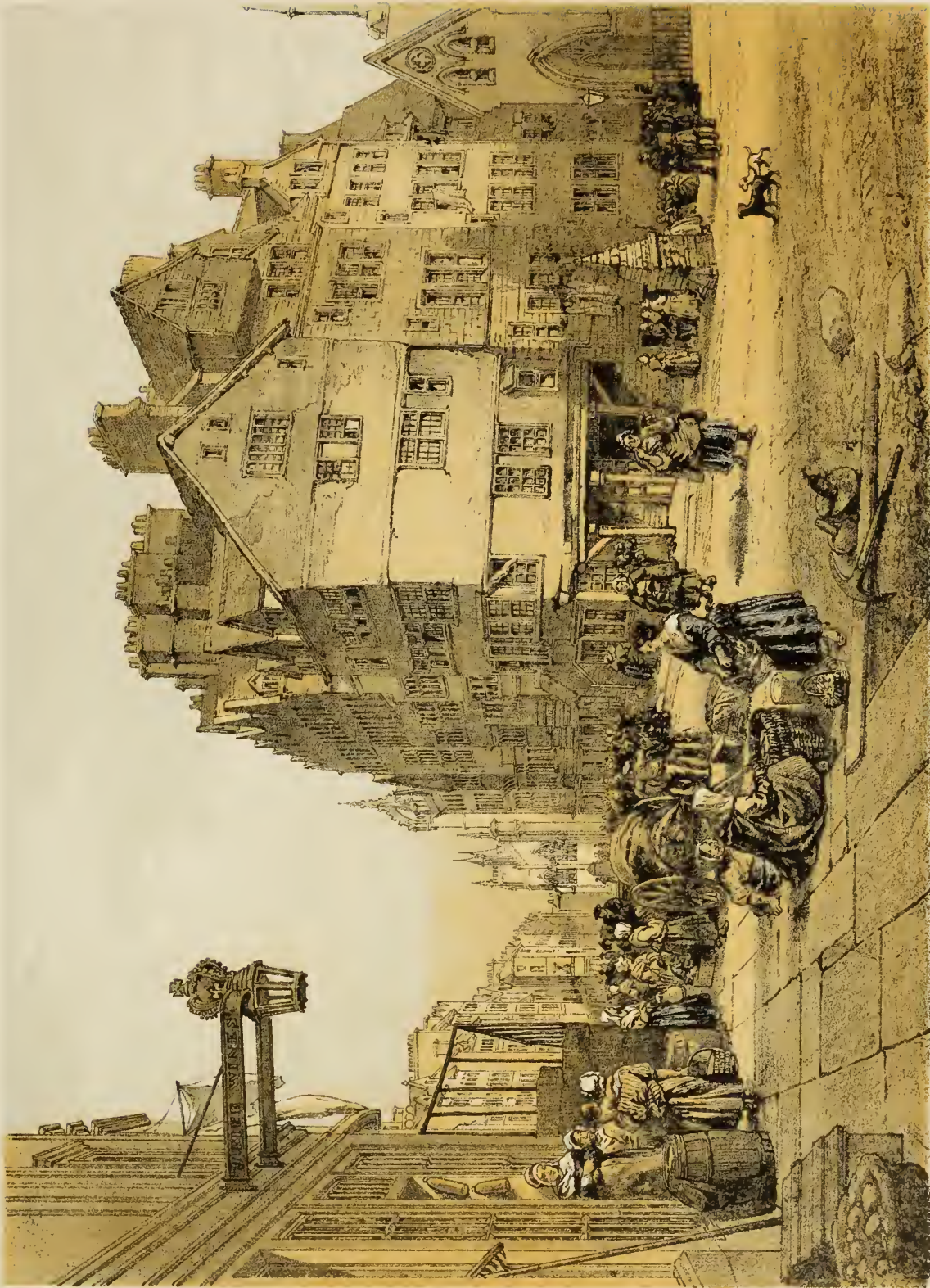
THE LAWNMARKET.

THE Lawnmarket extends from the head of the West Bow and Castle-Hill to St. Giles's Church, opposite to which the street is known as the Luckenbooths,² and both are continuations of the High Street. Like other localities of the old town, the Lawnmarket had its due proportion of closes, the greater part of which on the south side are demolished. On the north side, opposite the head of the West Bow, is a large tenement, six storeys high, of hewn stone, built about 1690, and entering into an area court called Milne's Court,³ from which is a thoroughfare to the Mound and the New Town. This "land" was long occupied by families of rank and opulence. East of Milne's Court are three alleys under modern houses leading into James's Court, the north tenement of which, nine storeys high, overlooking the Earthen Mound and Princes' Street, and

¹ *Memorie of the Somervills*, edited by Sir Walter Scott, vol. ii. pp. 7-11.

² "Ruddiman thinks that 'the *Luckenbooths* in Edinburgh have their name because they stand in the middle of the High Street, and almost join the two sides of it.' But the obvious reason of the designation is, that these booths were distinguished from others, as being so formed that they might be *locked* during night, or at the pleasure of their possessor."—(Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary*, vol. ii. *sub voce* LUCKEN.) On the other hand, Maitland, who described the fabrics as "rotten, noisome, and offensive" in 1753, thus explains the derivation.—"The Scottish commerce formerly extended no further than to France and the Low Countries. From the latter we got woollen cloth, by the Flemings called *laken*, the sellers whereof occupying the *Booth Row*, that name was forced to give way to *Lucken-Booths*."

³ Milne's Court in the Lawnmarket, and Milne's Square, opposite the Tron Church, are said, though the authority is not stated, to be designated from an individual named Milne, who was the descendant of an architect of considerable repute in his time. An isolated monument to Alexander Milne, who died in 1643, and of whom it is said in the inscription—"Quod vel in ære Myron fudit, vel pinxit Appelles, artifice hoc potuit hic lapicida manu," is in the enclosed pleasure-ground behind Holyrood Palace. In the Greyfriars' churchyard is a monument erected by his two nephews to the memory of John Milne, of which is a long inscription setting forth his many virtues, and stating that he was "the King's sixth master-mason of the race of Milne, exquisitely skilled in architecture," with the date of his decease, which was December 1667, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.



ALLIOTT STREET FROM HEAD OF WEST BOW, LONDON.

From an Original Drawing by W. P. Lister

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON.

built in 1727, was for upwards of half a century the residence of the upper classes, and of many eminent persons, who combined to prevent the intrusion of those of inferior station. But James's Court is chiefly interesting as the residence of James Boswell, Esq., where he entertained the Corsican general Paoli, the godfather of Napoleon, in September 1771, and thither he conducted Dr. Samuel Johnson, who was his guest from the 14th to the 18th of August, 1773, on which latter day they commenced their celebrated tour to the Hebrides. This house, which is a "half flat," is on the third storey of the west stair in the Court, and is entered by the left of the two doors. It had been previously occupied by Hume the historian, during whose absence in France it was tenanted by Dr. Hugh Blair.¹

The next alley to James's Court is Lady Stair's Close, having a thoroughfare from the street to the Earthen Mound, and deriving its name from Eleanor, youngest daughter of James second Earl of Loudon, and dowager of the celebrated soldier and statesman, John second Earl of Stair, who died in 1747. The house in which the Countess of Stair died at an advanced age, in 1759, is on the west side of the alley, and is entered by a doorway which is surmounted by a sculptured stone, exhibiting in the centre a small coat-of-arms, the inscription, *FEAR THE LORD AND DEPART FROM EVIL*, the date 1622, and the initials of probably the original proprietor and his wife. Lady Stair married, while very young, James first Viscount Primrose, who treated her in the most inhuman manner, and some remarkable events in her early life are introduced into the tale by Sir Walter Scott, entitled, "*Aunt Margaret's Mirror*." He died in 1706, leaving three sons and one daughter by her Ladyship. She subsequently married the Earl of Stair, by a singular stratagem on the part of his Lordship, after long refusing to listen to his addresses, and whom she induced to refrain from inebriation, the common indulgence of the age, by a very affecting incident. Her Ladyship always spoke the broad Scottish dialect, and was peculiar in her conversation.

Some of the tenements in front of the Lawnmarket, on this and the opposite side of the street, are of wood, procured from the clearing of the timber on the Borough Muir. The erection of Bank Street and of the Bank of Scotland caused the first destruction of two alleys called Lower Baxter's Court and Morocco Close. Sellar's Close, the third east from Bank Street, led into the house in which Cromwell held his levees, and transacted his military business, in 1650 and 1651. This was a very extensive "land," which is entirely removed, having been allowed prematurely to fall into ruin.

The south side of the Lawnmarket, which consists of lofty tenements, contained several alleys full of curious old houses connected with historical and traditionary associations. The whole of those alleys were demolished by the erection of Victoria Street and of George IV. Bridge. In Riddell's Close, however, a part of which still exists, is the house of the unfortunate Bailie Macmorane, who was shot by one of the High School boys named Sinclair, on the 15th of September, 1595, in a riot which those juveniles excited because the Town-Council refused to sanction a request designated the "*Privilege*."

The second alley east of Riddell's Close was formerly called Lord Cullen's Close, after Sir Francis Grant, Bart., a Judge in the Court of Session by the title of Lord Cullen, from 1709 till his death in 1726. It was afterwards known as Brodie's Close, deriving its name from William Brodie, wright, a noted criminal, though at one time a member of the Town-Council, who was executed in 1788 at the west end of the Old Tolbooth, with an associate named George Smith, for breaking into the Excise Office, then in Chessels' Court in the Canongate. Smith met his fate with penitence, but Brodie displayed a remarkable levity on the scaffold, which he had done during the whole interval from his condemnation to his execution. It is stated that while in prison he was visited by a Frenchman styled Dr. Peter Degraviers, who undertook to restore him to life after he had been suspended the usual time, and that the hangman had been paid a sum of money for a short fall, though he inadvertently made it too long. After Brodie was cut down, two of his workmen placed the body in a cart, and drove furiously round the Castle rock, imagining that the motion might cause resuscitation, and it was afterwards conveyed to his workshop in this alley, where Degraviers attempted bleeding and other modes to restore animation, but with no better success.

Immediately below Brodie's Close, and fronting the street, was the tenement in which Hume the historian was born in 1711. It was destroyed by a calamitous fire in 1725, and its successor shared a similar fate in 1771. Between this and St. Giles's Church every memorial of the olden time has disappeared. The present Melbourne Place occupies the site of the Old Bank Close, formerly Hope's Close, so called because it was the

¹ *Life and Correspondence of David Hume*, by John Hill Burton, Esq. Advocate, 8vo. 1846, vol. ii. pp. 136-139.

residence of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, Lord Advocate in the reign of Charles I., and a prominent leader of the Covenanters. This alley contained several ancient tenements of historical interest. The house of Sir George Lockhart, Lord President of the Court of Session, was in it, and he was assassinated while in the act of entering the alley on Sunday the 31st of March, 1689, when returning from St. Giles's Church, by John Chiesley of Dalry, merely for pronouncing a decision in favour of his wife and children.¹ In this alley was also a tenement² in which the Earl of Morton was imprisoned, from the 27th of May to the 2d of June, 1581, previous to his execution; and when the French ambassador La Motte arrived in Edinburgh, on the 7th of January, 1581-2, he was lodged in it as one of the best houses in the town. James VI. occupied the tenement a short time in the spring of 1594, and he walked from it to St. Giles's Church to hear a sermon, after which he addressed the congregation, and denounced the turbulent Earl of Bothwell. In 1637 it became the property and residence of Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall, and in it were held many deliberations of the Covenanters. The alley derived its latter designation of the Old Bank Close from a substantially built tenement in an open court at the south end, on which was the date 1588, and occupied by the Bank of Scotland previous to the erection of the edifice in Bank Street.

But in a locality where every ancient domicile has been removed, it is unnecessary to indulge in minute description. The second alley below the Old Bank Close was Libberton Wynd, the site of which is now occupied partly by the street in front of Melbourne Place, and partly by the County Hall, completed in 1818. In Libberton Wynd was John Dowie's tavern, celebrated by Burns, and the room in which he composed his lyrics of "Willie" and "Allan" was after his death an object of curiosity to visitors. Dowie's ale was irresistible to the Judges of the Supreme Court and many distinguished persons, some of whom instituted a club in the tavern, which they designated, as a pun on the name of the landlord, the "College of Doway." This beverage, which was the production of Younger, an eminent brewer, and the tavern itself, are the themes of a very humorous poetical effusion by Mr. Hunter of Blackness, entitled, "Johnnie Dowie's Ale." The house itself consisted almost exclusively of small dark rooms or dens, and was sadly deficient in comfortable accommodation, yet in this apparently repulsive hostelry many of the most respectable citizens, and several remarkable individuals, continued to meet every evening during a great part of the eighteenth century. Dowie amassed about 6000*l.*, and lived till 1817, continuing to the last an entire conformity to the fashions of his youth, by wearing a cocked hat and clothes of the old costume, though he latterly dispensed with knee and shoe buckles. He was twice married, and had several children by his first wife, one of whom obtained the rank of captain in the Army. His successor carried on the business, under the designation of "Burns' Tavern," till the demolition of the Wynd in 1834. The small room known as the "Coffin," to which Burns resorted during his sojourn of six months in Edinburgh, was internally refitted by green cloth and a new table.³

In 1640 the Lawnmarket was the scene of a serious and resolute personal rencontre between Major Somerville, a relation of "Broad" Hugh Somerville of the Wrights, and a Captain Crawford, who had served under General Ruthven in Germany. After the surrender of Edinburgh Castle to General Leslie, Major Somerville was entrusted with the command. Captain Crawford, who imagined that he had the right of admission to the Fortress when he pleased, appeared one day at the gate, but the sentinels would not allow him to enter without the Major's permission. This irritated the Captain, who uttered some contemptuous

¹ Chiesley loaded his pistol in the morning, and is said to have resolved to shoot the President in the church. He followed his Lordship close after the dismissal of the congregation, and shot him in the back in presence of numerous spectators, exclaiming—"I have taught the President how to do justice." Lockhart fell, and almost immediately expired when carried into his house, the ball coming out at the right breast. Chiesley made no attempt to escape, and having been taken in the act, was put to the torture by order of the Estates of Parliament, confessed the crime, and was condemned to be hanged at the Gallow-lee, between Edinburgh and Leith, on the Wednesday following, his right hand to be cut off while he was alive, and fixed on the West Port, and his body to be hung in chains, with the pistol tied round his neck. A daughter of this man became the wife of James Erskine of Grange, a brother of John Earl of Mar, the leader of the Enterprise in 1715, and a Judge in the Court of Session from 1709 till his resignation in 1734, by the title of Lord Grange. The romantic

story of the abduction of Lady Grange, as she was called, to St. Kilda, by the authority of her husband, is well known.

² This tenement displayed over the architrave the date 1560, the year in which it was completed, and the initials R. G., which meant Robert Gourlay. It occupied the site of a building said to have been a prison. Maitland mentions the "old Tolbooth in the Bank Close in the Lawnmarket, which was rebuilt in 1562," as it stood in 1753, on the "western side of the Close," with the windows strongly stanchelled; and he notices the fabric as the predecessor of the "Tolbooth situated at the western end of the Luckenbooth Row, the common prison for debtors and criminals."—History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 21, 22, 181.

³ Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes of John Kay's Original Edinburgh Portraits and Caricature Etchings, 4to. 1838, vol. i. pp. 1, 5; Traditions of Edinburgh, by Robert Chambers, vol. ii. pp. 238, 288, vol. iii. p. 106; Lockhart's Life of Burns, published in "Constable's Miscellany."



LIEBERTON'S WYND.
EDINBURGH

From an Original Drawing by G. Caltermole.

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

expressions, which the Major accidentally overheard, and caused a meeting in the Greyfriars' Churchyard to fight a duel. The Captain, however, thought proper to apologise in such abject phraseology as to excite the contempt of the Major, who told him, "You have neither the discretion of a gentleman, nor the courage of a soldier; get you gone for a dastardly fool, fit only for Bedlam." The parties left the churchyard, and the Major, when he returned to the Castle, freely expressed his opinion respecting his opponent's valour. This was soon intimated to Captain Crawford, who resolved to challenge and fight Major Somerville on the public street, when it would be most crowded with passengers. No other mode in his opinion could save his honour. The Major, a few days after General Ruthven had left the Castle, was requested to attend the Committee of Estates and General Leslie on important business. As he was passing the Weigh-House from the Fortress, on his way to the Parliament House, between ten and eleven in the forenoon, Captain Crawford, who had previously deposited his cloak in a shop on the south side of the Lawnmarket, came up to Somerville armed with a long broadsword and a large Highland dirk, and said, "If you be a pretty man, draw your sword," brandishing his own and the dirk. The Major was at first astonished at the rashness of the man assaulting him while on public duty. He had only a walking-cane in his hand, and the sword which General Ruthven had presented to him attached to a shoulder-belt behind. He was forced to parry some thrusts with his cane, till he drew his sword, and the conflict commenced in earnest about the middle of the Lawnmarket. The Major drove the Captain, in a kind of retreating fight, to some goldsmiths' shops constructed of wood, and, afraid that the Major would transfix him to the timber, the latter resolved by one blow to disarm his antagonist. As if aiming at the Major's right side, and parrying his thrust with his dirk, he turned round, and attempted by a back-stroke with his sword to hamstring him in one or both legs. The Major only escaped this by a nimble leap, interposing the cane in his left hand, which was cut through by the blow. The Captain, however, had exhausted himself by the effort, and, before he could recover a defensive posture, Major Somerville beat the dirk out of his left hand with the remaining piece of the cane, and closing with him, struck him to the ground, mere compassion preventing him from inflicting vengeance. Some of the Major's soldiers happened to pass, and the prostrated Captain was with difficulty saved from their fury. He was taken to the Tolbooth, put in irons, and kept in prison upwards of twelve months, and he was only released by the intercession of Major Somerville's wife, to whom he wrote an account of his deplorable condition, requesting her influence in his favour, on condition that he "enacted himself to perpetual banishment."¹

The former denizens of the Lawnmarket were noted for many peculiarities. Like other citizens, and in accordance with the baneful practice of the age, they were much addicted to forenoon tipping, and had several Clubs for dram-drinking, such as the "Lawnmarket Club," called ironically the "Whey Club," the "Haveral Club," the "Spendthrift Club," and a "Whist Club," the initiated members of which professed to spend the sum of only fourpence-halfpenny each night.

The communication called the Earthen Mound, between Princes' Street and the old city, was originated by some of the shopkeepers of the Lawnmarket, and it is to be regretted that this mass of rubbish was allowed to be deposited in the valley of the North Loch. In 1783, when the Mound was projected, Princes' Street in the New Town was built as far as Hanover Street. Previous to this, a number of gentlemen had formed an association in favour of Burgh reform, and their proceedings to accomplish their object were peculiarly offensive to the Magistrates and Council. As they resided chiefly in the Lawnmarket and West Bow, they felt the want of a direct access to Princes' Street, and at first intended to apply to the Town-Council in favour of their proposal; but aware that they were obnoxious to the Corporation, they commenced a subscription to lay down a pathway on the site of the Mound. This was projected in a tavern in the Lawnmarket, at the west entrance to James's Court, kept by Robert Dunn, much frequented by the shopkeepers of the period, and ironically designated "Dunn's Hotel," by way of burlesque on an elegant hotel of that name opened in Princes' Street. In a short time a foundation of furze was laid with mock masonic solemnity, and they returned to the "Hotel" to choose office-bearers, and appoint a committee to superintend the work. John Grieve, Esq., Lord Provost, whose house was the tenement forming the south-east corner of Hanover Street and Princes' Street, induced the Town Council to sanction the accumulation of rubbish. The Mound thus commenced, was long known among the lower classes as

¹ *Memorie of the Somervills*, vol. ii. pp. 270, 274.

the "Mud Brig," and also as "Geordie Boyd's Brig," the latter after an eccentric clothier, whose shop was in the Lawnmarket, and who was one of the most active in promoting the formation of the Mound.¹

THE TOLBOOTH.

THIS prison, graphically described by Sir Walter Scott in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," stood at the north-west corner of St. Giles's church in the Lawnmarket, and was one of the vilest edifices which even imagination can conceive. It was five storeys high, and occupied an area of not much more than sixty feet in length, by about thirty-three feet in breadth, exclusive of a more recent addition of two storeys at the west end towards the Lawnmarket. The roof of this was flat, and was used as a platform for the execution of criminals, from 1785 to 1817, when the whole edifice was demolished. It was surrounded by a black painted wooden rail, and was entered from the prison by a door in the gable, near which was an aperture for the projection of the gibbet. The entire edifice contracted the breadth of the street to very limited dimensions, and a house attached to it on the east in the Luckenbooths was separated from St. Giles's church by a narrow alley noted for personal rencontres. The east part of the Tolbooth was a tower or fortalice, of polished stone, and the west portion, a subsequent erection, was plain rubble work. On the south side the building contained two projecting spiral staircases to the several storeys. The ground-floor on the south side was popularly known as the "Thief's Hole," and that on the north side, which had long been shops, was constituted the City Guard-House in 1787. The sole entrance to the prison was in the angle close to St. Giles's church, by a doorway of carved stone-work, in front of which was always stationed a private of the Town-Guard in his red costume, and armed with a Lochaber axe. The turnkey's residence was close to the "Thief's Hole," and a door adjoining led into a lock-up dungeon. On the first floor from the entrance to the prison was an apartment with a stanchelled window on the south, and a rude pulpit intimated that this room or hall was also the scene of the ministrations of the chaplain to the prisoners. On the north side of this hall, towards the street, was a curiously constructed double window, which tradition alleged was the entrance of James VI., by an arch thrown over the street to an opposite house, when the Parliaments were held in the Tolbooth. A part of the edifice under this arch was the "Purses," so designated on account of the licensed beggars known as "blue gowns" receiving at it the royal bounty. The storey above the hall contained the "condemned room," with an iron bar across the floor, to which criminals doomed to execution were chained.² The ground-floor on the north side at the "Purses" continued the station of the City Guard from 1787 to the disbanding of that body in 1817.

It is stated that the Tolbooth was rebuilt in 1561, but portions of it were more ancient. In the former Tolbooth, which occupied the site of the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," the Court of Session first assembled in presence of James V. on the 27th of May, 1532, and that part of the edifice in which the Judges sat was called the "Council House." In 1561, however, the then Tolbooth was considered the most public building in the Town, and on it were at that date spiked the heads of Alexander third Lord Home and his brother, by command of John Duke of Albany, the Regent, who ordered them to be executed for supporting the party of the Queen Dowager of James IV. and the English interest. The dilapidated state of the Tolbooth was such in 1561-2, that Queen Mary sent a mandate to the Town-Council to employ workmen to remove it "with all possible diligence," and to provide accommodation elsewhere for the Courts of Law. The civic exchequer happened to be at the time in a most deplorable condition, and the sum of six hundred merks, allotted to the "Master of Works" to pay his men, was with such difficulty procured, that the Judges threatened to remove the Supreme Court to St. Andrews.

The rebuilding of another fabric is thus noticed by a contemporary—"This year, 1562, upon the 19th day of March, the tradesmen of Edinburgh founded the new Tolbooth, at the west end of St. Giles's

¹ Biographical Sketches to Kay's Portraits, vol. ii. pp. 13-15.

² In this room was also a square iron box called the "Cage," into which dangerous and violent culprits under sentence of death were immured. At the demolition of the Tolbooth this "Cage" was pur-

chased by some persons in Portobello, three miles east of Edinburgh, and the door and padlock of the prison were sent to Abbotsford, where the doorway was re-erected by him whose genius had rendered the "Heart of Mid-Lothian" celebrated throughout the world.

church."¹ This was subsequently known as the "Nether" or "Laird Tolbooth," and also as the "High Council-House," and stood at the south-west corner of St. Giles's church, in the vicinity of the site now occupied by the east end of the Library of the Writers to the Signet, and was opposite and parallel to the Old Tolbooth. During the progress of this erection the Judges sat in the Holy Blood Aisle of St. Giles's church.² Queen Mary rode in state from Holyrood to meet the Parliament in this Tolbooth in 1563, and the subsequent Parliaments and Conventions of the Estates held at Edinburgh often convened in it before the erection of the present Parliament House.

The Old Tolbooth was allowed to remain in its dilapidated state for a number of years, and a tenement in the Old Bank Close was used as the common prison. The building was eventually repaired, and continued to be the public jail till 1817. For upwards of two centuries previous many remarkable political offenders, and noted criminals, had been confined within its walls previous to their execution. It had also its due proportion of heads of persons who suffered death for high treason and other offences spiked on its battlements. On it was placed the head of the Regent Morton, who was executed at the Cross on the 2d of June, 1581, for his connexion with the murder of Lord Darnley, and it so remained till it was removed by order of James VI. in 1582.³ This barbarous practice was inflicted on the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, who were killed at Perth in the celebrated Gowrie Conspiracy in 1600; the Marquis of Montrose, who was executed as a traitor by order of the Covenanting Committee of Estates on the 20th of May, 1650; and on his rival and enemy the Marquis of Argyll, who was beheaded on the 24th of May, 1651. Montrose, Argyll, and the son and successor of the latter as ninth Earl, whose fate, on the 30th of June, 1685, was similar to that of his father, were confined in the old Tolbooth immediately before their execution, as was also the uncle of Bishop Burnet, Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, one of Cromwell's peers by the title of Lord Warriston.

During the domination of the Covenanting Committee of Estates the Tolbooth was filled with Royalist prisoners, who were designated "Malignants," and after Cromwell obtained possession of the city, his opponents, both Royalists and Covenanters, were committed to durance within the same edifice. The restoration of Charles II. introduced another class of prisoners, many of them preachers and their followers who only left the Tolbooth for the scaffold in the Grassmarket. In subsequent times the inmates were chiefly criminals and debtors; and such was the discipline of the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," that some of the latter, who were on friendly terms with the jailer, enjoyed the "freedom of the prison," which meant that they were not confined to one apartment, but were allowed to perambulate over the storeys of the west portion of the building.

One of the most important events connected with the Old Tolbooth was the celebrated Porteous Mob, the prominent incident in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian." That extraordinary outbreak, which astonished the whole kingdom, was remarkable for the dexterity of its plan, and the mystery which still envelopes the identity of the ringleaders. It occurred as follows:—

On the 9th of February, 1736, Andrew Wilson, George Robertson, and William Hall, robbed the collector of excise from Kirkaldy of a considerable sum of money in a public-house in the town of Pittenweem. They were speedily apprehended in the adjoining town of East Anstruther, tried before the High Court of Justiciary, and condemned to be executed in the Grassmarket on the 14th of April. Hall was reprieved; but Wilson and Robertson being left to suffer the extreme penalty of the law, a plan was concerted by the culprits to escape

¹ *Historie of the Reigne of Marie Queen of Scots*, by Lord Herries, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, p. 21.

² Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, folio, pp. 21, 22. The funds for this new Tolbooth were procured with the greatest difficulty. On the 5th of March the stones of a chapel, supposed to be that of the Holy Rood in the lower part of St. Giles's churchyard near the Cowgate, were ordered to be appropriated to the work; on the 18th of June, another edict was issued to raise money for its completion; and on the 21st they were obliged to obtain the loan of 1000*l.* merks on the Town Mills. In January, 1563-4, the edifice was still incomplete, and in reality the difficulty of procuring money seems to have been a source of continual torment to the Town-Council, whose finances were exhausted. Maitland observes lugubriously—"This grievance, which probably is nowhere to be paralleled, was a very great hardship on

the injured Edinburghers, to be compelled by their sovereign to erect an expensive building for the use of a national Court, the charge whereof ought to have been defrayed by the public, and not by one town."

³ The King's letter, which is preserved in the archives of the City of Edinburgh, is as follows:—"REX—Provost and Baillies of our burgh of Edinburgh, We greit you weill. It is Our will, and We command you, that incontinent after the sicht hereof ye tak down the heid of James, sum tyme Erle of Mortoun, of (from) the pairt quhair it now is placit upoun your auld Tolbuith, swa that the same heid may be bureit; for the quhilk this our letter sall be to you sufficient warrand. Subscriyvit with our hand at Halyrudhous, the aucht day of December, and of our reigne the sextene year, 1582."—*Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part II. p. 116

from the Tolbooth, by sawing or filing one of the iron bars of the windows, which had every prospect of success. The noise caused by the operations was stifled by a regular "psalm-singing" practised by the prisoners, and on the bar being severed, the attempt was first made by Wilson, who is described as a "round squat man;" but he stuck so fast between the bars on either side of that which had been removed, that before he could be disentangled the turnkeys were on the alert. It is said that Robertson earnestly wished to be the first to hazard the experiment, and that he was prevented by Wilson, who thought that, if he got out, his companion would have the better chance. This circumstance seems to have operated powerfully on the mind of Wilson, who occupied the few remaining days of his life in devising a mode to save his fellow-culprit. The plan he adopted was as bold as it was unlikely to succeed. It was the custom to convey criminals to the adjoining division of St. Giles's, called the Tolbooth Church, under a party of the town-guard, on the Sunday before their execution, to hear a discourse suitable to their unhappy condition. On this occasion, four soldiers of the guard escorted Wilson and Robertson to the "condemned pew." While the congregation were assembling, Wilson suddenly seized two of the soldiers, secured a third by holding his coat in his teeth, and called to Robertson to run for his life. Robertson soon tripped the fourth, leaped out of the pew, and rushed through the church, the people (not unnaturally) affording him every facility to escape.

Wilson, without hearing the sermon, was immediately taken back to the Tolbooth, put in irons, and on the following Wednesday was conducted to the scaffold in the Grassmarket, surrounded by a strong detachment of the guard, commanded by the ill-fated Captain John Porteous. As Wilson's conduct had excited the greatest sympathy in his favour, and as the crime for which he was to suffer was considered very trivial by the populace, the magistrates dreaded a rescue, and among other precautions ordered a military detachment to occupy the Lawnmarket during the execution. Nothing, however, occurred till the body was to be cut down, when a number of persons assailed the hangman with stones, some of which struck the soldiers of the city guard. Captain Porteous immediately discharged his own loaded piece among the crowd, and then ordered his men to fire, without any authority from the magistrates, who were in an adjoining house. Six persons were killed, and a number dangerously wounded.

The popular rage against Porteous, who had always been disliked, was so furious, that he would have been sacrificed by the mob, if he had not been committed to the Tolbooth until his conduct should be investigated. He was tried for murder, found guilty by the High Court of Justiciary on the 20th of July, and sentenced to be executed on the 8th of September. It may be doubted whether Porteous was justly condemned for murder, as no evidence was adduced to prove that he intended any fatal violence; and a respite of the execution for six weeks was therefore obtained. His enemies, however, who saw that their vengeance would not be gratified, and that his friends were sufficiently powerful to procure a commutation of the sentence, formed a most extraordinary combination for the purpose of inflicting on him the utmost penalty of the law, in defiance of the authorities.

On the night of the 7th of September, the day previous to that fixed for the execution of Porteous according to the sentence, a little before ten o'clock all the gates of the city were seized by a mob armed with sticks and bludgeons; many of the prominent leaders were observed to be persons of superior rank. The rioters entered the city by the West Port, and compelled the drummer stationed at that gate to proceed before them beating his drum along the Grassmarket and the Cowgate to the Nether-Bow Port, which they secured and locked, exclaiming continually—"Come here, ye who dare avenge innocent blood!" They then assailed the city guard-house in the High Street, violently disarmed the men, and turned them out of their quarters. Having adopted every possible measure to prevent the magistrates from obtaining the aid of the soldiers quartered in the Castle, they surrounded the Tolbooth, to the interior of which they obtained access by burning the door, dragged Porteous from the grated chimney of his cell, in which he had concealed himself, and carried him to the Grassmarket, where they hanged him on a dyer's pole, as near as possible to the regular place of execution. The body was found hanging at daybreak, and all the rioters had disappeared, no one knowing who they were, or whither they had gone.¹ It is said that many of them were disguised in female and other attire. The whole affair was transacted with the

¹ It is necessary here to correct the statement which Sir Walter Scott was entitled to assume, to give effect to his story, but unpardonable in local writers to narrate as a fact. This is, that the public assembled to witness the execution of Porteous on the 8th September

—that the scaffold was erected in the Grassmarket—and that it was then the respite was first announced. All this is pure fiction, for the respite was known five days previous, and sufficient time was thus obtained to organize the confederacy.

utmost coolness. The mob, in their progress with Porteous to the Grassmarket, broke open a shop in the West Bow, and took from thence a rope, for which a guinea was found on the counter in the morning; the chief performer in this exploit was a man named Bruce, an inhabitant of East Anstruther, who fled for a time, but subsequently returned to that town, and followed the avocation of a barber.¹ On the way from the Tolbooth to the Grassmarket, Porteous gave to one of the citizens, who vainly interceded in his behalf, a sum of money to be delivered to his brother. One man was tried and acquitted, but none of the ringleaders were ever discovered.

ST. GILES'S CHURCH.

THIS edifice, the exterior of which was completely rebuilt in 1830 and 1831, is in the style termed the "decorated Gothic," and is one of the most conspicuous objects in the Old Town. St. Giles was the tutelary patron of the city, and the town-council could at one time boast of possessing a reputed arm of the holy man, presented by Preston of Craigmillar, whose descendants, in gratitude for the relic, obtained from the civic functionaries the privilege of carrying it, enshrined in a silver case, on public occasions.² The attachment of the citizens to St. Giles, however, completely evaporated at the Reformation. On one occasion, during the regency of Mary of Guise, they forcibly seized an image of their patron which was to be exhibited in an ecclesiastical procession, and threw it into the North Loch, and a small image which was borrowed from the neighbouring Grey Friars, was termed in derision "young St. Giles." Soon after Queen Mary's arrival from France, so zealous were the lieges against St. Giles, that they actually cut an imaginary likeness of him out of the city standard, and substituted the national emblem of the thistle in place of the "idol," as they designated the representation.

St. Giles's Church, in its present condition, is very different from what it originally was, and the only part of the fabric which the citizens of former generations would recognise is the beautiful central tower, surmounted by open arches, from the groin of which rises a small steeple. The south and north sides of the church were long encumbered by small shops or booths, built close to the walls between the buttresses. Those on the south side in the Parliament Square were of stone, above which were dwelling-houses of two storeys, with flat roofs, the shops chiefly those of jewellers. The booths on the north side were of wood, and were called the Krames, separated from the Luckenbooths continuation of the Lawnmarket and High Street by a row of lofty stone tenements, which extended from the east gable of the Old Tolbooth to a huge "land" of eight or nine storeys, apparently forming the termination of the High Street on the west. The booths of the Krames were originally tenanted by mercers, hosiers, glovers, and other traders in miscellaneous wares, but before the removal they had degenerated into mere toy-shops.³ On the north-east corner wall of the church, above the shops, was a niche in which had been a statue of the Virgin Mary, and some steps leading from the Cross were in consequence known as "Our Lady's Steps." Such is a brief description of this part of the City in the olden time, every vestige of which is swept away, and St. Giles's steeple is the solitary external memorial of past centuries.

That division of St. Giles's Church still called parochially the Old Church—the south transept of the present edifice—was the most ancient portion of the entire fabric before the whole was externally rebuilt; but though the date of the foundation is unknown, no part of the former structure was of greater antiquity than the middle of the fifteenth century. The statement ascribed to Simon of Durham, that it existed in the ninth century, and was one of the churches belonging to the bishopric of Lindisfarne, or Holy Island, is unworthy of the least credit; yet a religious edifice occupied its site probably in the thirteenth century, and the ground sloping down towards the Cowgate, on which the Parliament House and Courts of Justice are erected, was long before the Reformation the common place of interment of the

¹ This man was well known to the venerable informant of the present writer, the mother of the late Captain James Black, R.N., a lady almost a century old in 1839.

² This reputed arm of St. Giles, with its enshrined cases, weighed five pounds three and a half ounces. In the church were also pre-

served "St. Giles's coat, with a little pendicle of red velvet which hung at his feet," with other curious relics.—Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, folio, p. 272.

³ Sir Walter Scott gives an accurate description of the Krames in the "Heart of Mid-Lothian."

citizens. On the 15th of December, 1359, a charter was granted by David II. of the lands of Upper Merchiston, near the city, to the chaplain officiating at St. Catherine's altar in the church. In 1365, the same monarch ratified a donation by a burghess of Edinburgh to the altar of the Virgin Mary, which intimates that several altars and chaplaincies had been founded. The Scottish Barons met in the church in 1384, and declared war against England. The result was the invasion of Scotland under the Duke of Gloucester, who burnt the city, including St. Giles's Church and Holyrood, leaving all in ruins except the Castle, after a conflagration of five days.

The church was soon rebuilt with the city, and this was the commencement of the subsequent edifice, or of that division long designated the Old Church. Various sums were paid by Robert III., and his successor James I. between 1390 and 1413 to restore the edifice.¹ Even in 1387, the erection of five chapels was designed on the south side,² and subsequently five were constructed on the north side. The next addition was the present High Church, which may be said to form the chancel of the modern edifice, and appears to have been commenced in the reign of James I.³ The High Church Aisle, formerly the Holy Blood Aisle, in which the General Assembly long annually met, and was entered from the Parliament Close, is said to have been built by the Prestons of Craigmillar, whose armorial bearings frequently occurred in it, those of the City twice, and one coat-of-arms which was not ascertained. The High Church division seems to have been terminated at the west end by the tower and steeple till the seventeenth century, when the increasing population rendered more parochial accommodation necessary, and the additions placed the tower in its present central position. About the end of the reign of Charles I., the west portion, long known as the Tolbooth Church,⁴ from its proximity to the prison, was constituted a parish church. In 1656, this church was divided into two by a partition wall,⁵ and that portion of the extended edifice forming the north-west division, next the Old Tolbooth, was known by the several designations of "Haddo's Hole Kirk," the "New North Kirk," and the "Little Kirk."⁶

In this condition the whole stood till 1829, a huge, sombre, and irregular pile of Gothic architecture of its kind, without any pretensions to elegance of design or decorations of masonry. On the contrary, the four churches under the roof of St. Giles were one mass of deformity, more especially after all the surrounding lofty tenements which concealed the entire edifice from public view had been removed. It is unnecessary to describe the exterior of a group which no longer exists in its former state, and contained nothing attractive in the interior to compensate for the miserable taste of those who had suggested the additions. It is, therefore, the historical associations connected with St. Giles's of Edinburgh which are alone interesting.

¹ The sums are mentioned in the Chamberlain's Accounts.

² *Registrum Magnum Sigilli*, p. 54.

³ This is proved by an examination of the armorial bearings on the pillars, for the interior of this part of the edifice was strictly preserved. The first pillar from the altar window on the north side, in the division called the High Church, is known as the *King's Pillar*, and contains four coats-of-arms—those of Scotland, or of James II., twice repeated, those of France, and those of James II. and his consort Margaret of Gueldres. This intimates that the pillar was erected between 1437, the year of the accession of James II., and 1460, when he was killed at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. The demi-pillar on the same side contains the arms of Thomas Cranston, "scutifer," or shield-bearer, to the King, and this ancestor of the Lords Cranston was a man of considerable note in the reign of James II. On the pillar opposite the *King's Pillar*, are four armorial bearings—those of Preston of Craigmillar, of Nicolson, of Kennedy, and of the City of Edinburgh. Archbishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, when Bishop of Dunkeld, was Lord Chancellor in the reign of James II., and his elder brother, Gilbert Kennedy of Dunure, an ancestor of the Earls of Cassillis, was created Lord Kennedy by that monarch. On the south side were also displayed the arms of Isobel Countess of Lennox, the wife of Murdoch Duke of Albany; and this lady, who was a great benefactress of the Church of Rome in Scotland, died in 1451. The other armorial bearings in this part of the edifice belonged to the city of Edinburgh, with only one exception on the roof in the north-west corner.

⁴ "Quhilk was so callit because it was lastlie the pairt and place quhair the Criminal Court did sit, and quhair the gallows and Mayden

did lie of old."—Nicol's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 170.

⁵ Nicol's Diary, pp. 174, 178.

⁶ With the additions already mentioned, the external length of the building, previous to 1830, was understood to be 206 feet, the breadth at the east end 76 feet, at the west end 110 feet, at the transept or centre, 129 feet; the height of the tower 155½ feet, or, according to Arnot, 161 feet. It was divided into four parish churches, of which the *High Church* was the east portion, the *Old Church* was the south transept, the *Tolbooth Church* and *New North Church* were the west additions; the aisle appropriated for the annual meetings of the General Assembly adjoined the *Old Church* on the south; and the north transept, opposite the Luckenbooths, was occupied for a few years previous to the alterations as a police-office and court-house, which originated the satirical remark, that a part of St. Giles's church was converted into a *den of thieves*. Maitland's statement of the height of the tower of the Church is 155½ feet, "as measured," he says, "by James Fife, player on the music-bells therein."—*History of Edinburgh*, folio, p. 273. The local diarist Birrel relates a curious and very dangerous exploit connected with St. Giles's tower. On the 10th of July, 1598, a man exhibited or "played souple tricks, the lyke never seen in this countrie," upon "anc tow" fastened from the top of the steeple to a stair below the Cross called "Josias' Close-head."—*Diary*, p. 47. In 1648, the four open stone arches on the top of the tower, which are imagined to resemble an imperial crown, were ordered to be rebuilt.

The church belonged to the Abbots of Dunfermline till the reign of James III., who, in 1466 or 1483,¹ constituted it collegiate, having a Provost, a curate, sixteen prebendaries, a minister of the choir, four choristers, a sacristan, and a beadle; and the patronage is said to have been vested in the Archbishop of St. Andrews and the town-council of Edinburgh. In this state it remained till the Reformation, when John Knox became the first Protestant minister. The opulent citizens had founded altars in the church of their tutelary saint, and a great part of the property in the neighbourhood was by degrees appropriated to that purpose.² Thirty-four altars are enumerated,³ of which those of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, the Holy Blood and St. Anthony, Our Lady of Piety, and the Holy Cross of the Body and Blood of Christ, are specially noticed. One was dedicated to St. Eloi, or St. Aloysius, who was selected by the incorporated trades of the city as their peculiar and favourite guardian. Above this altar was displayed the "Banner of the Holy Ghost," better known by its less dignified title of the "Blue Blanket," still preserved, and traditionally said to have been the standard of a band of Scottish mechanics who engaged in the Crusade wars in the Holy Land.⁴ The "jewels, plate, vestments, and other treasure and trinkets," which belonged to the Provost and prebendaries, were numerous and valuable. At the Reformation all those treasures were sold, and the remaining sum, after being employed to repair the edifice and arrange the interior according to the notions of the Protestant preachers, was applied to the purposes of the City.⁵ The Provost, before the appropriation of the temporalities by the town-council, received the rents and the profits, was entitled to a residence and glebe in the vicinity, and had the right to select the curate, who was to officiate for him, preside in the choir when the two senior prebendaries were absent, and to whom was paid annually twenty-five merks, exclusive of a domicile near the church.

The most celebrated Provost of St. Giles's Church was Gavin Douglas, the translator of Virgil's *Æneid* into Scottish verse, and the author of several works, one of which, entitled the "Palace of Honour," dedicated to James IV., bears a remarkable resemblance to Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," the coincidence being too evident to be accidental. He was the third and youngest son of Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, surnamed "Bell-the-Cat," was subsequently consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld, died of the plague in London in 1521 or 1522, while under the ban of the Duke of Albany as a traitor, and was interred in the Savoy Church. Gavin Douglas was appointed Provost of St. Giles's Church in 1509, when he resigned his rectory of Hawick. His conduct in 1520, during the contest between his nephew Angus and the head of the Hamilton family, then styled Earl of Arran, is subsequently noticed in the street riot of "Cleanse the Causeway." The humble bishopric of Dunkeld was the only preferment which this first translator of a Roman classic, and one of the earliest of Scottish poets, obtained during his troubled life. Deprived of the abbey of Aberbrothwick, excluded from the primacy of St. Andrews, and after encountering much personal opposition in connexion with the see of Dunkeld, Gavin Douglas became embarrassed with debt, and finally, as we have seen, died an exile; but he left behind him a reputation which will always distinguish him as a prelate of much learning and of munificence beyond his limited resources, and his misfortunes seem to have originated from the circumstance that he was a member of the once powerful house of Douglas.

After the Reformation, the then existing fabric of St. Giles was completely altered in the interior, and the Old Church division became the parish church of the City when John Knox was appointed the first minister.

¹ Father Hay in his MS. gives the date 1483.

² St. Giles's Grange, once a farm, afterwards the estate of Grange House (Dick Lauder, Bart.), about a mile and a half south of the church in a direct line, near the site of the nunnery of St. Catherine of Sienna, or the "Sciennes," on the south of Newington, belonged to the Provost and prebendaries. Some idea may be formed of the opulence of the ecclesiastics before the Reformation from the enumeration of Maitland, who states the rental derived from various lands, ground-annuals, and feu-duties, as amounting even in 1661, nearly a century after much of the property had been plundered, to the sum of 25287. Scots.

³ Among the endowed altars were those of St. Catherine, St. Nicholas, St. Francis, St. Martin and St. Thomas, St. Blasius, St. Dionysius, St. James the Apostle, St. Ninian, St. Laurence, St. Saviour, and the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. Maitland observes of the altars in St. Giles's church, which he enumerates, that many of them "had a plurality of foundations and chaplains belonging to

them, whereat were performed the numerous anniversary obits, &c., for the repose of the souls of the founders, their relations, and friends."—History of Edinburgh, folio, p. 272.

⁴ The "Blue Blanket," which is a curious memorial of former times, and is almost in tatters, is always deposited with the Convener of the Trades, the only member of the incorporations who has, since the Burgh Reform Act, an official seat in the town-council. This banner is displayed on important occasions. It waved above the temporary barrier-gate erected near Picardy Place to receive George IV. in 1822, and it was produced to welcome her Majesty Queen Victoria in 1842.

⁵ Maitland's History of Edinburgh, folio, pp. 272, 273. The church was also amply provided with gold and silver crosses, candlesticks, chalices, and various vessels, a golden bell and unicorn, a small golden heart with two pearls, a diamond ring with several small stones, a silver ship for incense, silver paten and spoon, a communion cloth of gold brocade, and costly robes for the Provost and Prebendaries.

The Earl of Moray was married in it to Lady Anne Keith in February 1561, and the ceremonial seems to have been performed by Knox, who addressed the future Regent on the occasion, although he expressed his dissatisfaction at the extraordinary feasting which followed. Lord Darnley occasionally attended the prelections of Knox in this church, but his compliance obtained for him little favour from that austere orator. On the 22d of February, 1567-8, Sir William Stewart was inaugurated Lord Lyon-King-at-Arms in the edifice, after a sermon, in presence of the Regent Moray and many of the nobility; but this unfortunate gentleman¹ held his office only a few months, as the celebrated Sir David Lindsay of the Mount was installed his successor on Sunday the 22d of August, 1568, in presence of the Regent Moray. On Tuesday the 11th of February, 1569-70, the body of the Regent, who had been assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh at Linlithgow on the 23d January, was conveyed from Holyrood, and interred in the church; Knox preached the funeral sermon, many of the nobility being present, and the audience, consisting of three thousand persons, were deeply affected.² A monument, a kind of altar-tomb which still exists, was erected to his memory, with a Latin inscription from the pen of George Buchanan.³ The fabric sustained no injury during the siege of the Castle in 1573, though Sir William Kirkcaldy of Grange, the governor, fortified the tower with artillery, and placed in it a party from his garrison. The edifice was often the scene of offensive personalities uttered by the officiating preachers to James VI., at which he sometimes displayed great irritation,⁴ and on other occasions was obliged to pass over the affront in silence. In this church he repeatedly denounced the turbulent Earl of Bothwell to the assembled congregation, in 1591 and 1592; and here he was told from the pulpit by Mr. Robert Bruce, on the 13th of March, 1594, that "God would raise up more Bothwells than one, who would be greater enemies to him than Bothwell, if he fought not God's quarrel and battles on the Papists before he fought or revenged his own particular quarrel." On the 3d of April, 1603, two days before his departure to England as the successor of Queen Elizabeth, the King went to the High Church division of the edifice, which was crowded on the occasion, and heard a sermon preached by Mr. John Hall, containing many free allusions, which the Monarch, however, is said to have taken "in good part." After the sermon he rose and addressed the congregation, who were greatly affected. He promised to visit his native kingdom every third year, and entreated his subjects not to be depressed because he left them, for his power to serve them was increased, and his inclination to do so would never be diminished. James concluded his speech, which was in the Scottish vernacular, in these words—"I have nae mair to say, but pray for me." The audience expressed their feelings by loud sobs and tears. James was again in the High Church at his entrance to the city on the 16th of May, 1617, when he heard a sermon by Archbishop Spottiswoode of St. Andrews. Among the dignitaries of the Church of England then present were the learned Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, who was at the time Bishop of Ely, and the future Archbishop Laud.

Charles I. was often under the roof of St. Giles's during his visits to Edinburgh. After his coronation at Holyrood in 1633, he founded the bishopric of Edinburgh, which had for centuries been a part of the

¹ See a notice of Sir William Stewart's fate in the History of Edinburgh Castle in the present Work, p. 19.

² Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, printed for the Wodrow Society, vol. ii. pp. 526, 527.

³ The inscription on the Regent's tomb is as follows—"PIETAS SINE VINDICE LUET. JUS EXARMATUM EST, 23 JANUARY 1569. JACOBO STEWARTO, MORAVIE COMITI, SCOTIE PROREGE, VIRO ETATIS SUE LONGE OPTIMO, AB INIMICIS OMNIS MEMORIE DETERRIMIS EX INSIDIIS EXTINCTO, CEU PATRI COMMUNI PATRIA MERENS POSUIT." It is recorded of the Regent, that "his head (was) placed south, contrair the ordour usit; the sepulchre laid with hewn wark maist curiously, and on the head ane plate of brass."

⁴ In the beginning of 1586-7, one of those numerous exhibitions occurred in which the preachers delighted to indulge. The fate of Queen Mary was soon to close on the block in Fotheringay Castle, and the "kirk-session" of Edinburgh refused to enjoin their preachers to pray for her, though anxiously requested by the King to mention her distress in their supplications, after sentence of death had been pronounced against her. A chronicler of the time has preserved an account of the King's visit to St. Giles's church on the 3d of February, the day he had appointed for solemn prayer in behalf of his unfor-

tunate mother. On this occasion the King expected that Adamson, titular archbishop of St. Andrews, was to preach; but when he entered the church he was astonished to see "perched up in the pulpit a young fellow, one John Cowper," whose brother, William Cowper, was afterwards Bishop of Galloway. The King exclaimed before the congregation—"Master John, that place was designed for another; yet since you are there do your duty, and pray obey the charge to pray for my mother." Cowper replied that he would speak solely as the "Spirit of God should direct him," and immediately commenced an extemporaneous prayer, in which he mentioned Queen Mary under the name of Jezebel and other severe epithets. The King ordered him to desist, at which the preacher exclaimed—"This day shall bear witness against you in the Lord. Woe be to thee, O Edinburgh! for the last of thy plagues shall be the worst!" He then came down from the pulpit, and left the church followed by all the women. In the midst of a considerable noise which this extraordinary conduct excited, Adamson entered the pulpit, and delivered an eloquent and appropriate discourse, which was heard with satisfaction by the King and the well-disposed part of the congregation. Mr. Cowper was compelled to cool his zeal in Blackness Castle, to which he was committed a prisoner on a charge of sedition, for this contempt of the royal authority.

extensive diocese of St. Andrews, superintended by an archdeacon and several deans appointed by the Archbishop. The newly constituted diocese included the counties of Berwick, Haddington, Edinburgh, Linlithgow, Stirling, and the small county of Clackmannan. A part of the patrimony of the ancient Priory of St. Andrews was purchased by the King and the Duke of Lennox, to insure a suitable revenue to the bishop. The foundation charter of the see is dated Whitehall, 29th December, 1633. St. Giles's church was declared to be the cathedral, and the chapter was arranged to consist of a dean, who was to be the incumbent of the High Church, and twelve prebendaries, whose maintenance was to be derived from the tiends, feus, and superiorities of the lands enumerated in the charter.¹ The Bishops of Edinburgh were to have precedence over all the Scottish bishops, after the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and were to be vicars-general of the diocese of St. Andrews during the vacancy of the primacy. The first Bishop was Dr. William Forbes, who had been educated at Cambridge, and who had been successively minister of the parishes of Alford and Monymusk in Aberdeenshire, also of Aberdeen, and Principal of Marischal College, and who was at that time one of the ministers of Edinburgh. The patent of his nomination was dated the 26th of January, 1634, and he was consecrated in the following month, but died suddenly in April that year. He was succeeded by Bishop David Lindsay, who was translated from Brechin in September 1634.²

The next important event in the history of St. Giles's, which may be said to have been the commencement of the Scottish rebellion against Charles I., was the riot at the introduction of the Scottish Liturgy, on Sunday the 23d of July, the seventh Sunday after Trinity, long remembered as "Stoney Sunday," and the "Casting of Stools." It occurred in the Old Church division, the High Church being then under repair. As to the Liturgy of the Church of England, it was well known in Scotland at the time, as it had been daily used for the previous twenty years in several of the parish churches throughout the kingdom, without any symptoms of disapprobation. In the present case, however, a formidable opposition was organised by various persons, who became conspicuous leaders in the approaching Covenanting war. In concerting their operations they instructed some women of the lower orders to "give the first affront to the Service-Book," meaning the Liturgy, and to commence an uproar in the church when divine service commenced, assuring them that the turmoil would be carried on by more important agents.

It had been enjoined that this Liturgy, which, though in all essential and general points the same as that of the Church of England, few persons in Scotland had seen except those bishops who prepared it, should be first used on Easter Sunday; but by the same fatality which attended many of the proceedings of that unhappy time, the day latterly announced was the 1st of July. Sunday the 23d of that month was appointed for its introduction into St. Giles's cathedral. On that day appeared in the Old Church division of the edifice Archbishop Spottiswoode, the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop Patrick Lindsay of Glasgow, several of the Bishops and members of the Privy-Council, some of the Judges of the Court of Session, and the Lord Provost and magistrates, in their robes of office. It was then the custom of the poorer classes to carry small three-footed stools, on which they sat during the sermon. At the time of divine service, which it appears was nine in the morning, Mr. James Hannay, Dean of Edinburgh, entered a reading-desk habited in his surplice, and commenced the morning service from the Liturgy, when the most extraordinary uproar was commenced by the women, and by men in disguise. The riot is differently related by contemporary writers. Clamours, cries, and execrations, assailed the Dean, accompanied by such clapping of hands and other noises, that scarcely a word could be distinctly heard. One woman threw her portable stool at his head, and he only evaded the blow by turning aside before the missile reached him.³ This outrage was succeeded by a discharge of clasped Bibles, sticks, and missiles; others attempted

¹ Among the prebendaries were the incumbents of Holyroodhouse, Liberton, Tranent, Haddington, Dunbar, Dalkeith, Linlithgow, Falkirk, and Stirling.—Charter of Erection of the See of Edinburgh, in Bishop Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, 1755, pp. 28–37.

² Bishop Lindsay continued Bishop of Edinburgh, and connected with St. Giles's cathedral, till 1638, when he was deposed and excommunicated by the Covenanting General Assembly at Glasgow. He died during the commotions of the Civil War, and the diocese was vacant till 1662, when George Wishart, who had been chaplain to the Marquis of Montrose, was consecrated to the see at St. Andrews. His

successors were Alexander Young from 1671 to 1679, John Paterson from 1679 to 1687, and Alexander Rose, who was deprived at the Revolution. The subsequent Bishops of Edinburgh had no connexion with the cathedral of their predecessors.

³ It is almost unnecessary to remind the reader that the heroine of this exploit, for which she has obtained a niche in history, is traditionally said to have been Jenny Geddes, after whom the poet Burns named a favourite mare. Jenny was by profession a *kail-wife*, or retailer of vegetables—a class of persons who long kept stalls for that purpose at the Tron Church, and who at the arrival of Charles II. in

to pull the Dean out of the reading-desk, and he was glad to escape from their fury, leaving a part of his surplice in their hands. All this time an excited mob on the street violently attacked the doors of the church, and pelted the windows. Various paltry jokes, unworthy of notice, are recorded by the Covenanted describers of this tumult.¹ Bishop Lindsay, the diocesan, who was to preach the sermon, went into the pulpit, and addressed the disturbers of the service. He reminded them of the sacredness of the place, and of their duty to God and the King, entreating them to desist from their profanation; but his courage, dignity, and eloquence, which even Wodrow admits, were of no avail. He was assailed by the most ferocious epithets, and it is said that a stool was also aimed at him, which might have killed him if it had not been averted by a friendly hand. Archbishop Spottiswoode, who occupied a seat in the gallery, also interfered, but he only turned the storm of fierce imprecation against himself. The Primate saw that it was vain to attempt to allay the uproar, and in the exercise of his authority as Lord Chancellor, he ordered the magistrates to clear the church. This was done, the doors made fast, and the service was continued in defiance of noise and violence, until some of the rioters, left within the church, raised their old cry—"A Pope! a Pope! pull him down!" This induced the magistrates again to act officially, and to expel them from the cathedral. The service was then concluded, and the sermon delivered in quietness. The Liturgy was opposed, though not with such indecency, in the Greyfriars' and Trinity College churches.

When the Bishops and the nobility retired from St. Giles's after the morning service, they found the High Street crowded by a mob, who insulted them, and threatened a personal attack. One clergyman was severely beaten, and Bishop Lindsay, who was very corpulent, was probably rescued from death solely by the domestics of the Earl of Wemyss, who conveyed him into their master's residence. Before the afternoon service a number of the bishops convened in the house of Archbishop Spottiswoode, and conferred with the magistrates, who adopted proper methods for preserving order. Numbers resorted to St. Giles's at two o'clock, the usual hour for the sermon, but no preacher appeared. About three o'clock, some of the bishops and clergy went privately to the church accompanied by a strong guard, and those only were admitted who were known to be peaceable citizens. At the dismissal of the congregation, about five o'clock, the High Street was again swarming with male and female rioters, ready to renew their outrages. Bishop Lindsay, who was in the coach of the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal, again escaped with great difficulty on his way to Holyrood. An attempt to stop the coach, and drag out the bishop, who was erroneously supposed to be the most active promoter of the Liturgy, was successfully repelled by the Earl's servants with drawn swords, who cleared their way at full speed down the High Street, followed by the rioters, who, as the erection of the Tron Church was then in progress, readily obtained an ample supply of missiles. A nobleman, supposed to be the facetious Earl of Rothes, who saw the populace running after the coach, exclaimed, "I will write to the King, and tell him that the Court here is changed; for my Lord Traquair used ever to get the best *following*,² but now the Earl of Roxburgh and the Bishop of Edinburgh have the best *backing*."

The Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed in St. Giles's church, though the great scene of that transaction was the Greyfriars' church and cemetery. On the 1st of December, 1638, Dean Hannay and his colleagues in St. Giles's were deposed by the Covenanted General Assembly at Glasgow, and on the 13th a similar deliverance was pronounced against Bishop Lindsay, who never again entered his cathedral.

the North of Scotland, in June, 1650, were so surcharged with loyalty, that they burnt their stalls, creels, and even their very stools, for joy. —Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 17. That Jenny was considered a noted virago in her day, is evident from her conduct at the celebration of Charles II.'s coronation in 1661, as recorded in the "*Mercurius Caledonius*," a newspaper attempted by Thomas Sydserf, whose father was then Bishop of Orkney. She is designated the "immortal Janet Geddes," the "Princess of the Trone Adventurers;" and "she was not only content to assemble all her creels, basquets, creepies (small stools), frames, and other ingredients that composed the shope of her sallets, radishes, turnips, carrots, spinage, cabbage, with all her other sort of pot merchandise that belongs to the garden, but even her leather chair of state, where she used to dispense justice to the rest of her lang-kale vassals, were all very ordourly

burned, she herself countenancing the action with a high-flown vermillion majesty." The stool preserved in the Museum of the Society of Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh, as that thrown by Jenny Geddes at the head of the Dean of Edinburgh, must be spurious.

¹ One of these jokes is, that when Jenny Geddes heard the bishop call to the dean to read the collect for the day, she exclaimed, when she threw her small stool—"Deil colic the wame o' ye!" It is also said that she vociferated—"Will ye say mass at my lug (ear)?" If the morning service proceeded to the collect for the day, it must have been nearly half over, as it is precisely the same as that of the Church of England.

² This is evidently a witty allusion to the Earl of Traquair as Lord High Treasurer of Scotland.

From 1638 to 1650 the edifice was in the possession of the Covenanters, and during Cromwell's domination those Presbyterian ministers were allowed to officiate who were submissive to a sway which it was vain to resist.

The first indication of a new state of affairs after the Restoration of Charles II., was the magnificent funeral in St. Giles's of the mutilated remains of the Marquis of Montrose, attended by a gorgeous procession, on the 11th of May, 1661.¹ The High Church division became again the cathedral of the Bishops of Edinburgh, and continued as such, though used as one of the parish churches, till the Revolution. Since that event nothing of comparative importance has occurred in connexion with the fabric except its renovation. The General Assembly held its annual meetings in the south aisle, anciently the "Holy Blood Aisle," till 1833, during a period of one hundred and forty years. The west portion of the edifice, occupying the site of the Tolbooth and Haddo's Hole, or New North churches, is now designated West St. Giles's, and is one of the three parish churches into which the edifice is subdivided. Though under the same roof, these churches are as distinct as if they were situated in different parts of the city.²

¹ His mutilated remains were, by order of the Parliament sitting in January that year, removed from the ignoble grave in the Borough Muir, his limbs were sent from Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen, his head was taken down from the Tolbooth, and the whole were placed in a splendid coffin. On Monday the 7th of January, at nine in the morning, the magistrates ordered four companies of their trained bands to march with colours displayed to the Borough Muir, where sundry noblemen and gentlemen, relatives and admirers of the great Marquis, were assembled; the dismembered body was taken out of the grave, wrapt in costly cloth, placed in a coffin under a canopy of rich velvet, and conveyed amid martial music, and the discharging of the artillery of the Castle, to the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood, in an aisle of which the coffin was deposited until the order for the funeral was issued by the King and the Estates of Parliament. The procession returned from the Borough Muir by the West Port, Grassmarket, West Bow, and Lawnmarket. When opposite the Tolbooth the procession halted, the coffin was opened, and the head of the Marquis, which had been taken down from the spike it had occupied upwards of ten years, was deposited therein under the sound of trumpets from a platform erected by the magistrates. On the 11th of May the solemnity of the funeral was observed, and he was interred behind the tomb of his grandfather, John third Earl of Montrose. The street from the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood to St. Giles's was lined by the citizens in armour, forming twenty-three companies with banners. The King's life-guards of horse, in number one hundred and sixty, first appeared in military order, and next came twenty-six boys in deep mourning habits, carrying the armorial bearings of the Marquis and of the branches of his family. They were succeeded by the Lord Provost, magistrates, and town-council, all in mourning, who were followed by members of the Parliament. A trumpeter, dressed in the livery of the Marquis, next appeared, with a horse led behind him; after him a gentleman on horseback in armour, followed by eighteen gentlemen, some of whom carried long banners of honour, and others the spurs, gloves, breastplate, and back armour of the Marquis on the points of long staves. A horse next appeared, which was covered by the rich embroidered mantle on which the Marquis and his ancestors sat at the riding of the Parliaments, and led by a lackey decorated with his family arms on the breast and the back. Then came the principal nobility, the heralds and pursuivants in their tabards, several of them carrying honours; then another led horse, covered with black cloth; after which appeared the Lord Lyon King-at-Arms in his magnificent robes of office, followed by a great number of the relatives and friends of the Marquis. Six trumpeters preceded the coffin, which was carried under a rich pall supported by noblemen and gentlemen, and by a number of ladies, the wives and daughters of peers. Next was the Earl of Middleton, Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament. This funeral procession was closed by that of another victim of the Covenanters, Colonel Hay of Delgaty, who was beheaded for his connexion with the Marquis, and had been buried in the Borough Muir. He was interred on the right side of the Marquis.—Nicoll's Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 316, 317, 331, 332.

² It is already stated that the more modern additions to the fabric were those of Haddo's Hole, or the New North and the Tolbooth churches. Maitland asserts—"The room over the northern door of Haddow's Hole church was at first denominated the *Priest's Prison*, but from the long confinement of one Haddow therein, it is said to have received the appellation of Haddow's Hole." Arnot repeats this statement—"It takes the name of Haddow's Hole from its having been made a prison in which a gentleman of the name of Haddow was long confined." Both of those writers were evidently ignorant of the origin of the appellation, which was not derived from "one Haddow," or "a gentleman of the name of Haddow;" but from Sir John Gordon of Haddo, an ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen, whose family seat is Haddo House in that county, and whose second titles are Viscount Formartine and Lord Haddo. The fate of Sir John Gordon, who fell a victim to his loyalty in 1644, when he was executed by the Covenanters, is subsequently noticed. He was imprisoned in that part of St. Giles's which, till 1830, bore his territorial name, with its subsequent appellations of the "New North Kirk" and the "Little Kirk." It was not converted into a place of worship till 1699, when the increase of the inhabitants rendered such accommodation necessary. The Magistrates intended to fit up a meeting-house in the Lawnmarket for that purpose, but the edifice selected having been declared unsuitable, Haddo's Hole was seated and prepared for the new congregation at the expense of about 2000 merks Scots. The interior was one of the most dismal-looking places of worship in the city. The adjoining Tolbooth Kirk was altogether different in its historical associations. The New Tolbooth, at its south-west corner, was soon found to be inadequate for the accommodation of the Court of Session, and during the greater part of the reign of James VI., and the whole of the reign of Charles I., the judges sat in the Tolbooth Kirk. Hugh, eighth Lord Somerville, had a lawsuit in the Court of Session with his relative, Somerville of Cambusnethan, which had been protracted from 1570 to 1577 by the influence of the latter, who employed "all his allies, which were not few," says the noble historian of the Somervilles, "and his lady all her friends, which were many, being of the surname of Murray, and Philiphaugh's eldest daughter, who owned his son-in-law much in this action." In 1577 Lord Somerville, who had often importuned the judges for a decision, was advised to try the avarice of the Regent Morton, which he did by leaving a purse of gold, as if by accident, on the table at an interview with the Regent in his residence at Holyrood Palace, and hurrying down-stairs, disregarding Morton's exclamation—"My Lord, you have forgot your purse." A person was sent after Lord Somerville, requesting him to return and breakfast with the Regent, which was a sure sign that the device had been successful. Lord Somerville accepted the invitation, and it is stated that "about ten o'clock the Regent went to the house, which was the same which is now the Tolbooth church, in a coach. There were none with him but the Lord Boyd and the Lord Somerville." When the coach was passing Niddry's Wynd, the Laird of Cambusnethan was standing at the head of that alley, and when informed who the persons were in the coach with the Regent, he struck his breast, and said, "This day my cause

In the west gallery of the High Church is a chair of state under a canopy supported by four pillars, and surmounted by a crown. This chair is occupied by the Lord High Commissioner on the first day of the meeting of the General Assembly, and the two following Sundays. George IV. heard a sermon in this seat on the forenoon of Sunday the 25th of August, 1822. The front seats of the north gallery are for those of the town-council who choose to attend officially, and those opposite are occupied by the judges of the court of Session.¹

THE PARLIAMENT CLOSE AND PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

MANY curious stories could be told of the former Parliament Close, and of that celebrated arena of Scottish jurisprudence the Parliament House of Edinburgh, partly built on the site of the ancient burying-ground of St. Giles's, which sloped down from the church to the Cowgate. The Parliament Close was entered on the east and west of St. Giles's; and the east side or corner, contained a stately "land" or tenement of six storeys, resting on piazzas, in one of which was John's Coffeehouse, a noted convivial resort of lawyers in the eighteenth century, destroyed by fire in the summer of 1824. The opponents of the Union in 1707 constantly met in John's Coffeehouse to discuss the proceedings of the Parliament. The Parliament Close, before the conflagration in November 1824, consisted of tenements adjoining the "piazza land" of seven storeys high, and the back part, overlooking the Cowgate, displayed no less than thirteen storeys, which made it the highest house in the city.² Those stately tenements of ashler work occupied the site of even loftier buildings which were burnt in 1700. The Parliament House and the then Goldsmith's Hall, the latter on the site of the entrance to the Library of the Writers to the Signet, on the north gable of the former, constituted the west side of the square, St. Giles's church the north, and the south side, east of the Parliament House, was a tenement called the Treasury, in the lower and western part of which the Court of Session was held, and the upper parts, before the Union, were appropriated to the Privy Council, the Exchequer, and the Treasury. After the Union those apartments became the Court of the Exchequer. The central apartment of this edifice

is lost." This was actually the case, and Lord Somerville obtained a decision in his favour. The "house" to which the Regent Morton went was the Court of Session, then held in the Tolbooth Kirk. James VI. was sitting in it on the 17th of December, and a convention of the preachers was held at the same time in the "New Kirk," when the tumult broke out on the rumour that the latter intended to murder him, which caused the doors to be secured, some exclaiming—"God and the King!" and others—"God and the Kirk!" The citizens were soon in commotion, and the King retired for safety to the upper room of the New Tolbooth, which was latterly the Justiciary court-room, and he was there protected from the excited enthusiasts in this religious riot till the Earl of Mar brought soldiers to his rescue by Forrester's Wynd. In 1598 this division of St. Giles's was fitted up for divine service in the same form as it had been five years previously, and sermons were preached in it on the 4th of November, but it was again altered in 1601. It appears that the Tolbooth church continued to be used as the Court of Session till 1640, when the present Parliament Hall was finished.

¹ Formerly the peculiarities of the congregations which assembled under the roof of St. Giles's were very marked, and indicated their theological tendencies. "The High Kirk," says Mr. Chambers, "had a sort of dignified aristocratic character, approaching somewhat to Prelacy, and was frequented by sound church-and-state men, who did not care so much for the sermon, as for the gratification of sitting in the same place with his Majesty's Lords of Council and Session and the magistrates of Edinburgh, and who desired to be thought men of sufficient liberality and taste to appreciate the prelections of Blair. The Old Kirk, in the centre of the whole, was frequented by people who wished to have a tough 'sufficient' sermon of good divinity, about three quarters of an hour long, and who did not care for the darkness and 'goustiness' of that dungeon-like place of worship. The Tolbooth Kirk was the peculiar resort of a set of rigid Calvinists from the Lawnmarket and the head of the Bow, termed the 'Towbuith

Whigs,' who loved nothing but extempore apostolical sermons, and would have considered it sufficient to bring the house down about their ears if the precentor had ceased, for one verse, the old hill-side fashion of reciting the lines of the psalm before singing them." To these observations on eccentricities long exploded may be added the congregation of the New North or Haddo's Hole Kirk, who were considered intensely evangelical, and to whom a read sermon was an utter abomination, though they were occasionally visited with such a penance by strangers. When Dr. Johnson was in Edinburgh in 1773, he was taken to inspect St. Giles's church. "We next went," says Boswell, "to the great church of St. Giles, which has lost its original magnificence in the inside by being divided into four places of Presbyterian worship. 'Come,' said Dr. Johnson, jocularly, to Principal Robertson, 'let me see what was *once* a church.' We entered that division which was formerly called the New Church, and of late the High Church, so well known by the eloquence of Dr. Hugh Blair. It is now very elegantly fitted up, but it was then shamefully dirty."—Boswell's *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, edited by John Wilson Croker, 8vo. Lond. 1831, vol. ii. p. 276.

² Those "Babel Lands," as they were called, were always shown to strangers among the curiosities of the city. Dr. Johnson, after inspecting the High Church in St. Giles's and the Royal Infirmary, was taken to see those towering tenements. "We then conducted him," says Boswell, "down the Post-House Stairs, Parliament Close, and made him look up from the Cowgate to the highest building in Edinburgh (from which he had just descended,) being thirteen floors or storeys above the ground upon the back elevation; the front wall being built upon the edge of the hill, and the back wall rising from the bottom of the hill several storeys before it comes to a level with the front wall."—Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, vol. ii. pp. 276, 277. The "Post-House Stairs" were latterly known as the "Back Stairs," and led to the Cowgate.

was occupied as the Chancery Office and the Commissary Court, and in two rooms under the Court of Session the national records were deposited.

In the lower part of St. Giles's churchyard, in what was latterly the Back Stairs alley, was the Chapel of the Holy Rood, in which Walter Chapman, the first printer in Edinburgh, founded in 1528 a chaplaincy, and endowed it with his tenement in the Cowgate.¹ At the west end of the churchyard, nearly on the site of the Parliament House, stood the manses of the ministers of the city, previous to the order of James VI. enjoining them to reside in different parts of the town, to prevent their caballing against him. No houses were in this part of the square previous to 1662.

In the centre of the square is the fine equestrian statue of Charles II. on a stone pedestal in front of which is a long Latin poetical inscription expressed in the most flattering language.² According to a tradition, it was intended for Oliver Cromwell, but Maitland alleges that it was erected by the citizens at their own expense of 1000*l.* sterling in 1684, the year before the King's death.³ John Knox is said to have been interred a few feet in front of the site of the statue of Charles II., at least tradition assigns that spot as the locality of his grave, when the Parliament Square was part of St. Giles's cemetery. He was buried on Wednesday the 26th November, 1572, in presence of all the nobility then in the city, and an immense concourse of persons; the Regent Morton well exclaiming, as the body of Knox was laid in the grave—"There lies he who never feared the face of man."

The north side of the Parliament Square long presented the deformity of a number of flat-roofed houses of two and one of three storeys, built close to the walls of St. Giles's church. It is stated that those booths and shops were first erected in 1628, and the civic authorities, to show that they had not lost all reverence for the sacredness of the Church, enacted that only booksellers, watchmakers, jewellers, and goldsmiths, whose avocations were considered respectable, should be the occupants. The shop of George Heriot existed in the vicinity till 1809, when the erection of the Signet Library, already mentioned, caused the demolition of some curious old alleys west of St. Giles's. Heriot's shop was the centre of three small ones immediately on the west of the church, between the Old Tolbooth and the Laigh Council-House, which, as formerly observed, stood near the north-west angle of the square. The back windows looked into an alley, now removed, which was known as Beith's or Bess Wynd, and Heriot's name was discovered upon the architrave of the door carved in stone. This interesting relic, his forge and bellows, and a hollow stone fitted with a stone cover or lid, conjectured to have been used by the wealthy goldsmith for receiving and extinguishing the embers of the furnace, are now preserved in his Hospital.⁴ James VI. is said to have visited Heriot in his shop, and tradition alleges that he was always regaled with a bottle of wine. Heriot's residence in the city was in the Fishmarket Close, and his first shop or booth was at "Our Lady's Steps," on the north-east side of St. Giles's. Both in that humble structure, and in the one at the west end of the church, Heriot carried on an extensive trade as goldsmith and money-lender. It has been computed that during the ten years previous to the accession of James VI. to the English crown, Heriot's transactions with Anne of Denmark, who was passionately fond of jewellery, amounted to no less than 50,000*l.*⁵

¹ Maitland (*History of Edinburgh*, folio, p. 185), who had evidently made no inquiries on the subject, vaguely states, "In the neighbourhood of this chapel was a farm-house called St. Giles's Grange." He had previously observed (p. 176), after mentioning the Convent of St. Catherine of Sienna on the west side of Newington—"A little distance toward the south-west is the seat of Grange," and "as all religious foundations had their respective granges, barns, or outhouses, for the convenience of agriculture, I take this to have been that belonging to the nunnery of the *Siens*." This *Siens*, *Sciennes*, or *Sheens*, is, as already observed, the local corruption of *Sienna*. It is not true that the Grange, to which Maitland refers, now the Grange House, and the lands connected with it, ever belonged to the nuns of the Edinburgh convent of St. Catherine. It was the Grange of the collegiate church of St. Giles in the city, and is called in old records "Geillis Grange." In 1512, Sir John Crawford, one of the prebendaries, granted a donation of twenty-two acres, of which he was the proprietor, in the Borough Muir of Edinburgh, for the sustentation of a chapel, every vestige of which has disappeared, erected by him in honour of St. John the Baptist. Maitland, moreover, is most erroneous in stating that the "farm-house called St. Giles's Grange" was "in the

neighbourhood," as if it was in the immediate vicinity of the Chapel of the Holy Rood near the Cowgate. The Grange is nearly two miles in a direct line south from St. Giles's church.

² The statue of Charles II. was for upwards of a century and a half the only public one in Edinburgh. Before it was repaired, and placed on its present pedestal, it had become so dilapidated that it was necessary to take it down, and the effigy of the "merry monarch" and the horse were consigned for several years to the outer court of the jail on the Calton Hill, which caused several jokes and witticisms at the expense of the Town-Council, by whose order it was restored.

³ Nevertheless it is stated that this statue "supplied the place of one of Oliver Cromwell, which had been in forwardness, but was immediately thrown aside on the downfall of his family."—*The Scots Magazine* for 1810, p. 404.

⁴ *Traditions of Edinburgh*, by Robert Chambers, vol. ii. pp. 209, 210.

⁵ *Memoir of George Heriot*, with the *History of the Hospital* founded by him in Edinburgh, by William Steven, D.D., 12mo. Edin. 1845, pp. 5, 7.

The printing-office of the learned Ruddimans was in the Parliament Close, where they published, as the title-pages intimate, many of the classical, educational, and historical works which emanated from their press, and were edited by them. Of Mr. Thomas Ruddiman it is recorded — “It was in 1739 that he purchased of David Rutherford, the advocate, for 300*l.* sterling, the house wherein from that time he lived in the Parliament Square amidst the booksellers, and in the neighbourhood of the Advocates’ Library.¹ He had now better opportunities for gratifying his passion for chess. He used often to step into the shop of Alexander Symmers, the bookseller, in that Square, to play at this fascinating game. They did not play for money, but, being both pertinacious players, they generally parted in a wrangle.”² Ruddiman died in his house in the Parliament Close, on the 19th of January, 1757, in the eighty-third year of his age, and was interred in the Greyfriars’ burying-ground, but no stone marks the spot where this distinguished scholar was laid.³

The shop-keepers and denizens of the Parliament Close were long a sociable and friendly community, and formed themselves into a club, known as the “Parliament Close Council,” consisting of from fifty to a hundred members, all of whom met once or twice during each year at dinner. They were also noted for many curious habits, which strangely contrast with the present forms of society and mode of conducting business. They frequently shut their shops at three o’clock, with a written announcement that they were at Bruntsfield Links playing at golf, and would return at six. Yet many of them acquired fortunes, and as some of them were or had been civic dignitaries, they were on intimate terms with the judges of the Court of Session and the learned gentlemen of the Parliament House. The very boys seemed to be inspired with new vigour in the Parliament Close, which they considered a peculiarly grand locality. The Parliament Square, as it is designated, now consists of buildings for the courts of law, erected in exact uniformity, and the front resting on piazzas; but its inhabitants have disappeared, and a cocked-hat citizen of the eighteenth century would no longer recognise this once busy and animated scene.

The noble hall called the Parliament House, which excites the admiration of every visitor, was erected at the expense of the citizens, who were afraid that the courts of law and the Parliament might be removed from Edinburgh for want of proper accommodation. It was begun in 1632, and finished in 1640, at the expense of 209,340 merks Scots, or 11,000*l.* sterling, of which the sum of 56,000*l.* Scots was obtained by subscription. The length is one hundred and twenty-three feet, and the breadth forty-two feet, the roof arched with oak panellings gilt at the projections. The interior of the Parliament House, or “Outer House,” as it is also called in the phraseology of the courts, is grand and impressive, and it is doubly interesting from its historical and legal associations. The interior is also rendered imposing by the statues of distinguished individuals which it contains. These are the first Lord Melville, Lord Presidents Forbes and Blair, and Robert Dundas of Arniston, Lord Advocate, Dean of Faculty, representative in Parliament for the county of Edinburgh, and Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 1808 till his death in 1819. The statue of Lord Melville, of whom it is said that he “walked the boards of the Parliament House during no less than twenty years before he began to reside constantly in London as Treasurer of the Navy,”⁴ occupies a pedestal surrounded by an iron railing in the north end of the hall, and represents his lordship in his robes as a peer. It is the work of Chantrey, and was erected at the expense of the Faculty of Advocates. The statue of Lord President Forbes by Roubilliac, and that of Blair by Chantrey, rest on the east wall; the former was erected by the Faculty of Advocates, and the latter by the College of Justice. The statue of Lord Chief Baron Dundas occupies a recess on the west wall of the Parliament House. It is in a sitting posture, and was first placed in the adjoining County Hall in 1824, from which it was removed in 1845.

Previous to 1810, when the present buildings connected with the Parliament House were commenced, the Square must have had a most imposing appearance. The edifice was entered by a stately arched door in the north-west corner, near the Tolbooth division of St. Giles’s, close to the Goldsmith’s Hall, and over this door were the royal arms of Scotland finely carved in stone, supported on each side by allegorical figures of Truth and Mercy.⁵ Projecting towers rose from several parts of the buildings, which

¹ Then solely under the Parliament House.

² Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M., by George Chalmers, 8vo. London, 1794, p. 170.

³ Life of T. Ruddiman, p. 269. The Scots Mag. for 1757, p. 54.

⁴ Peter’s Letters to his Kinsfolk, vol. ii. p. 37.

⁵ James Robertson of Kincraigie in Perthshire, long a well-known character in Edinburgh by the sobriquet of the *Daft Highland Laird*, and who was chiefly to be seen either near his residence in the Castle.

were four storeys high, flat-roofed, and ornamented by an elegant open stone balustrade. The interior of the Parliament House contrasts strangely with the present exterior, which is justly pronounced to be "a very ill-conceived and tasteless front-work of modern device, including a sufficient allowance of staring square windows, and some pillars and pilasters," of very indifferent Ionic architecture.

It has been already stated that the Parliament House was completed in 1640, though the date carved in stone on the north gable in the lobby of the Library of the Writers to the Signet is 1636. If it is to be assumed that the hall was finished for the purpose to which it was appropriated in that year, the first Parliament held in it was that of the triumphant Covenanters, which met on the last day of August 1639, the day after their General Assembly was dissolved. The Earl of Traquair appeared as the Lord High Commissioner, and the names of all the nobility and members for the counties and burghs are on record.¹ On the 6th of September the Solemn League and Covenant was subscribed by Traquair in this hall in presence of the Parliament, his Lordship intimating and ordering to be entered on the minutes that he did so simply in his official capacity as Lord Treasurer, and not as Lord High Commissioner,² but this declaration was afterwards ordered to be expunged as illegal.³

The second Parliament held in this hall met in 1640, and on the 11th of June, as the King had appointed no commissioner, Robert Lord Balfour of Burleigh was elected President. The Parliament again met in the Parliament House of Edinburgh on the 19th of November, 1640, and elected Lord Balfour of Burleigh to be the President, who, though much engaged in the public transactions of the time, was selected rather for his ready compliance with all the projects of the Covenanting Estates than for his superior abilities.⁴ This Parliament was adjourned till the 14th of January, 1641, and subsequently to the 13th of April, the 25th of May, and the 15th of July. The Estates next convened in the Parliament House on the 15th of July, when Lord Balfour was re-elected President. Neither the King nor his commissioner appeared; but the Earl of Dunfermline and Lord Loudon produced a letter from his Majesty, in which all the demands of the Covenanters were conceded, and much important business was transacted in connexion with these affairs. Charles I. arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th of August, and found the prerogatives of the Crown usurped by the Estates. On the 17th of August, after a sermon in the Chapel-Royal, the King proceeded in state to the Parliament House, the Marquis of Hamilton bearing the crown, the Earl of Argyll the sceptre, and the Earl of Sutherland the sword. Charles Lewis, Prince Elector Palatine, the King's nephew, was accommodated with a seat on "ane embroidered stool" behind the throne by permission of the Estates, for which the King returned thanks. It appears that the object of the Prince Elector in accompanying the King to Scotland was to obtain a subsidy of men and money. It is impossible to narrate all the acts, debates, and incidents, which occurred within the Parliament House of Edinburgh at this meeting of the Estates, at which Charles I. was present almost every day after his arrival, till its adjournment on Wednesday the 17th of November, and in which he sacrificed all his regal authority. He was compelled to bestow honours and rank on those whose fidelity was suspected, or whose enmity was avowed. The Marquis of Hamilton was the only exception. He was created a Duke, yet before the patent had passed the seals, he had retired from Edinburgh, alleging a plot to assassinate him as the reason. In this parliament, and within the Parliament House, were proscribed, or consigned to destruction as "Malignants," the Earl of Montrose, Lord Napier, Sir George Stirling of Keir, Sir Lewis Stewart of Blackhall, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, then Lord President of the Court of Session, Sir John Hay, and other loyal noblemen and gentlemen, whose only offences were fidelity to their sovereign, and opposition to the Solemn League and Covenant. The feelings with which Charles I. heard his supporters condemned as "incendiaries" may be easily understood.

hill, or in the Lawnmarket, Bow-Head, or Grassmarket, one day met the celebrated lawyer, the Hon. Henry Erskine, as he was about to enter the Parliament House, of which the laird was a great frequenter. Mr. Erskine inquired after his health, and his reply was, "Oh, very weel; but I'll tell ye what, Harry: tak' in Justice wi' ye," pointing to the statue of Justice over the old porch, "for she has stood lang i' the outside, and it wad be a treat for her to see the inside, like other strangers."—*Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes to Kay's Original Portraits*, 4to. Edin. 1838, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. v. pp. 248, 249.

² Ibid. vol. v. p. 253.

³ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. v. p. 260.

⁴ This Lord Balfour was merely titular. He was Robert Arnot, son of Sir Robert Arnot of Fernie, chamberlain of Fife, and he married Margaret, sole heiress of Sir Michael Balfour of Burleigh, first Lord, Baroness Balfour of Burleigh in terms of the patent at the death of her father. This Robert Arnot assumed the name of Balfour, and adopted the title of Lord Balfour in virtue of a letter from Charles I. He was the father of John third Lord, and great-grandfather of Robert fifth Lord, who killed the schoolmaster of Inverkeithing for marrying during his absence on the Continent a young woman of whom he was enamoured.

Another feature of this Parliament of 1641 was, that its sittings were apparently interminable. Daily for three months the King proceeded from Holyrood to the Parliament House, in a state of intense mental anguish—caused by the unhappy state of his affairs in England, the obstinate conduct of his Scottish subjects, with the rumours of the deplorable condition of Ireland—and in vain urged the Estates to get through the business. On Friday the 8th of October, the King complained that they “proceeded very slowly,” and on the 28th he ordered a letter which he had received from Lord Chichester to be read by the Clerk Register in the Parliament House, announcing the open insurrection of the Irish, which he hoped would prove only a “small revolt;” but on Monday, the 1st of November, he announced to the Estates that a total rebellion had broken out in Ireland, of which he had been duly informed by the Lords Justices. It has been already mentioned that Charles I. received the official letter announcing the Irish rebellion, while on Leith Links witnessing a party playing golf, and that he immediately left the ground.¹

On the 17th of November the ceremonial of the “riding” of the Parliament was accomplished, to the great relief of the King. The procession arrived at the Parliament House from Holyrood Palace in the following order—General the Earl of Leven; the commissioners for the burghs and the counties, two and two; the nobility, forty-three of whom were present; the King’s six trumpeters in their liveries, followed by six pursuivants and the six heralds, two and two; the Lord-Lyon, supported on each side by a gentleman usher; the sword, carried by the Earl of Mar, the sceptre by the Earl of Sutherland, the crown by the Earl of Argyll; the King, his train supported by four sons of noblemen; Sir Robert Gordon, Vice-Chamberlain; the Duke of Hamilton, Master of the Horse, immediately behind the King, having on his right hand the Duke of Lennox and Richmond Great Chamberlain of Scotland; the Earl of Kinnoull, Captain of the Guard; the Marquis of Huntly. The King seated himself on the throne, and, after the dispatch of various matters of business, he delivered the patent creating Argyll a marquis to the Lord-Lyon, which was read publicly by the Clerk Register. A sermon by Alexander Henderson, and a speech by Lord Chancellor Loudon to the King and Estates, closed the proceedings at half-past eight in the evening.

The meeting of Parliament adjourned to January 1642, was never called, and the next assemblage in the Parliament House was a Convention of the Estates on the 22d of June, 1643. Another Convention was held in the hall on the 3d of January, 1644, and continued its sittings till the 16th of April, when it was adjourned to the 24th of May. The Convention again met on the 25th of that month, and sat on the 30th and 31st of May, and the 3d of June. On the following day the Estates assembled in the Parliament House. Several of the Covenanting Parliaments were subsequently held in the hall.

In 1650, Charles II. was magnificently entertained in the Parliament House by the Magistrates, after a visit to the Castle during his residence in Leith. In 1651, the English army under Cromwell completely subjugated Scotland and suppressed the legislature. In 1652, the royal arms were pulled down from the Parliament House and other public buildings, by order of the English Commissioners, and the hall was occasionally used by Cromwell’s troopers as a preaching-place.² The Protector’s judges for the administration of Scottish affairs occupied the Parliament House on the 18th of May, 1652, and held their courts in it during his domination. In May 1654, the apartments under the hall, known as the “Laigh Parliament House,” in some of which a large portion of the Advocates’ Library has been for many years deposited, were converted into a prison, and thirty-two persons were confined in them, thirty of whom escaped on the 17th by cutting a small hole in the roof. On the 4th of that month, the Magistrates treated General Monk to a grand banquet in the Parliament House, on the occasion of proclaiming Cromwell as Lord Protector. In 1656, the Magistrates invited Lord Broghall, President of the Scottish Council, General Monk, and other personages, to an entertainment in the Parliament House, at a time when the civic functionaries were upwards of 50,000*l.* in debt, and their creditors importunate.

Sir James Learmonth of Balcomie, who had been appointed a judge in the Court of Session by Charles I., and was nominated one of the Commissioners for the administration of justice in Scotland, on the 7th of November, 1655, by Cromwell, died suddenly on the bench in the Parliament House on the 26th of June, 1657, greatly lamented by the people. On the 15th of November, 1659, General Monk convened the commissioners of the counties and burghs in the Parliament House, and addressed them in a speech, in which he strongly

¹ See the first note, p. 69 of the present Work, and also the subsequent historical account of Leith.

² Nicoll’s Diary, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. 94.

recommended the preservation of peace in their several localities during his absence. This meeting continued several days, and may be viewed as a kind of preliminary to the overthrow of the Protectorate in Scotland. The restoration of Charles II. was hailed with enthusiasm by the citizens of Edinburgh, the royal arms were again erected over the porch of the Parliament House, and the regalia were brought from their obscure concealment in the parish church of Kinneff to the Castle. The restoration of the monarchy also brought that of the legislature, which for nearly ten years had been suppressed by Cromwell's military government, and the Estates met in the Parliament House on the 1st of January, 1661, the Earl of Middleton presiding as Lord High Commissioner, and the Earl of Glencairn, Lord Chancellor, was elected President, when it was enacted that his successors in office were to be Presidents of the Parliament in all time coming.¹ It is stated that on this occasion the Earl of Middleton and the Estates rode from the Palace of Holyrood to the Parliament House "all richly apparelled, some in gold, others in silver lace, silk, satin, and velvet, in their gorgeous and costly foot mantles, seeming rather princes than subjects, all of them for honour of the King's majesty their master."²

Of the subsequent Scottish Parliaments which assembled in this hall it is unnecessary to give details. At the Revolution the hall was the arena of many important discussions. The Convention of Estates was "turned into a Parliament" on the 5th of June, 1689, and during the interval between the 14th of March and the latter date, the regulation of public affairs was devolved on a committee of noblemen, barons and burgesses, appointed for that purpose by the Estates, whose sittings commenced on the 29th of April, and were continued till the 23d of May. It had been decided to offer the Scottish crown to the Prince and Princess of Orange. The bishops withdrew from the Parliament House, in which they were never again to sit as spiritual peers; the episcopate was abolished as the national establishment, because the bishops and parochial clergy would not acknowledge the Revolution government; and the Viscount of Dundee, who alleged that the Cameronians had plotted to assassinate him, retired from the Convention to raise the adherents of King James in the Highlands. On the 5th day of June, 1689, the Convention of Estates assembled in the Parliament House as the first Parliament of William and Mary, and the Duke of Hamilton appeared as Lord High Commissioner.

The demise of William III. and the accession of Queen Anne caused no alteration in the Parliament, which met in the hall on the 9th of June, 1702, the Duke of Queensberry representing the Queen as Lord High Commissioner. This Parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation on the 14th of August, 1702, and the first session of its successor, known as the "Union Parliament," was commenced in the hall on the 9th of May, 1703, under the Duke of Queensberry as Lord High Commissioner. By an act passed in June 1722, Queen Anne was enabled to appoint commissioners to treat for the Union between Scotland and England—a project most repugnant to the majority of the people of the former kingdom. The second session was held in the hall on the 6th of July, 1704, under the Marquis of Tweeddale; the third on the 28th of June, 1705, under the Duke of Argyll; and the fourth on the 3d of October, 1706, under the Duke of Queensberry,³ which was the last Parliament of Scotland. When the treaty was concluded, the Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor, exclaimed, when he touched the document with the sceptre—"Now there's an end of an auld sang!"

It was within the walls of the Parliament House that the opponents of that great measure, which had been repeatedly attempted in vain by the preceding monarchs since the accession of James VI. to the English crown, expressed their indignation in furious invectives against its promoters. The speeches of Lord Belhaven, denouncing the Union, are preserved; and, although the language is unpolished, they are nervous and pathetic, and are curious specimens of Scottish senatorial eloquence. The subsequent prosperity of Scotland proves that his lordship was completely mistaken in his predictions; but he had many thousands of credulous believers at the time, and the great majority of the people supported his views of the measure. Nor was it carried without the most formidable, alarming, and riotous opposition. Those who were its supporters were daily loaded with abuse in their way to and from the Parliament House, and the popular fury was roused to an incredible extent.⁴

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vii. p. 7. ² Nicoll's Diary, p. 35.

³ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. xi. pp. 3, 29, 113, 205, 300.

⁴ The Dukes of Hamilton and Atholl were the leading opponents of the Union, strenuously voting against every article, and recording several protests against the measure. It appears that the Duke of Hamilton resided in the Palace of Holyrood, and on account of the lameness under which he then laboured, he was generally carried to and from the Parliament House in a chair. The mob on the streets

followed him with loud cheers and exclamations of "God bless his Grace for standing up against the Union, and appearing for his country!" On the other hand, the Duke of Queensberry, Lord High Commissioner, was roughly treated. Insults, reproaches, and indignities, assailed him wherever he appeared. Cries of "No Union!" and "Traitor!" resounded in his ears, and he was openly threatened to be murdered. On the 22d of October the mob followed the Duke of Hamilton from the Parliament House to Holyrood, with their usual

Many curious instances of the popular hostility to the Union throughout Scotland could be produced, and the only parties who made no demonstration against the measure were the Highlanders, who evidently did not comprehend and were in utter ignorance of the matter.¹ An anecdote is recorded by Sir Walter Scott of a parish minister, who candidly acknowledged that for nearly fifty years he had never preached a sermon without introducing a "hit at the Union," whatever was the theme of his discourse. For upwards of half a century every calamity which occurred was ascribed to the "sorrowful Union." Nevertheless it was effected in defiance of a threatened insurrection in all the Lowland counties. On the 16th of January, 1707, after all the articles had been discussed, the vote was taken in the Parliament House to "approve of the act ratifying and approving the Treaty of Union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, yea or nay," and it was carried in the affirmative. The Scottish Parliament continued to sit in the hall for the dispatch of minor business from the 20th of January till the 25th of March, when a number of local acts were passed, and the Duke of Queensberry concluded by a short speech in which he declared his conviction, which has been amply verified, that "we and our posterity will reap the benefit of the union of the two kingdoms." His Grace adjourned the session till the 22d of April, and as it was dissolved on the 28th, the Parliament of Scotland on that day ceased to exist.

Till about 1780, the interior of the Parliament House was the same as at the date of the Union. Some portraits decorated the walls, and the remains of tapestry still existed. The hall was subdivided by partitions, and actually contained several small shops occupied by booksellers and hardware retailers; and one on the east side of the hall, close to the wall, was a coffee-house, or small tavern, kept by Peter Williamson, a well-known character, who had been kidnapped at Aberdeen when a boy, and became subject to the tender mercies of the North American Indians, among whom he resided for a considerable time before he effected his escape. He established a penny post in Edinburgh, and was the first who published a street directory of the city. None of those partitions rose high, and the entire roof of the hall was seen. The various compartments, with the exception of the small shops, were appropriated to the purposes of the Court of Session.

With the occasional diversity of the magistrates meeting in the Parliament House to drink the sovereign's health on the royal birthday, the hall is solely used as an appendage to the Supreme Court. On the evening of Saturday the 24th of August, 1822, the town-council gave a splendid banquet to George IV. in the Parliament House, which was fitted up for the occasion in a style of great magnificence. The platform on which the King's table was raised, was under the stained glass window at the south end, and

acclamations; and as they were returning that next day, when their numbers would be increased, they would "pull the traitors out of their houses, and soon put an end to the Union." The Parliament sat late on the 23d, and the mob mustered so strong at the door of the hall and in the Parliament Close, that the members could not go in or out without difficulty. When the Duke of Hamilton was seen he was caressed by the mob, who followed his sedan, and his Grace, instead of proceeding to Holyrood, was carried to the lodgings of the Duke of Atholl in the Lawnmarket. De Foe states—"Some said he went to avoid the mob; others maliciously said he went to point them to their work." Be this as it may, the mob attacked the house of Sir Patrick Johnstone, who had been Lord Provost the preceding year, and who, previous to accepting the appointment of one of the Commissioners to England to treat for the Union, was one of the most popular men in the city. Sir Patrick lived in a common stair, and as his windows were too high to be much injured by sticks and stones, the mob ascended his stair, and assailed the outer door so furiously, that, if it had yielded to their hammers, he would have been torn to pieces without mercy. His wife from a window, with a candle in each hand, that she might be known, called for assistance, and an apothecary who knew her ran down to the Town Guard in the High Street. Those worthies refused to stir until they received the Lord Provost's order; and when this was obtained, Captain Richardson, their commander, at the head of thirty men, in the midst of missiles and execrations, took possession of Sir Patrick's stair, which he cleared, and apprehended six of the rioters. The members of Parliament were insulted in their coaches, the windows of their houses broken, and all the lights on the streets were extinguished. Those who looked out at windows with lights were struck

with stones, and De Foe states that "one great stone was thrown at him." The mob were now masters of the city, and about eight or nine in the evening it was reported that they intended to shut and secure the gates. The Duke of Queensberry, who resided in the Canongate, sent a party of the foot-guards, who took possession of the Nether-Bow gate; nevertheless the rioters traversed the streets till midnight, beating drums, and exciting the people to join them. A report that one thousand sailors and others were on the road from Leith, induced the Duke of Queensberry to send for the Lord Provost, who reluctantly consented to allow the military to enter the city; and about one in the morning a battalion marched to the Parliament House, the square at which they occupied, and took possession of all the other avenues of the city. The tumult was soon after ended by the dispersion of the mob, yet De Foe observes that "the people appeared exasperated to the last degree. The huzzaing and crowding about the Duke of Hamilton continued, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent it; and unusual threatenings and dark speeches were heard."—History of the Union of Great Britain, by Daniel De Foe, folio, Edinburgh, 1709, pp. 27, 30.

¹ The town of Dunfermline was then in such a state of poverty that an application was made to the Convention of Royal Burghs for pecuniary assistance, and yet the Town-Council instructed Sir Peter Halket of Pitferran, Bart., their Commissioner, to vote and protest against the Union in every stage of its progress. Sir Peter, however, voted for it, which gave such offence that he thought it prudent not to appear in the town for a year afterwards, and public indignation ascribed to him every possible motive for his conduct, except the right one.

